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THOMAS BOWREY

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The *PAPERS* of THOMAS BOWREY

1669-1713

discovered in 1913 by JOHN HUMPHREYS, M.A., F.S.A.
and now in the possession of Lieut.-Colonel
HENRY HOWARD, F.S.A.

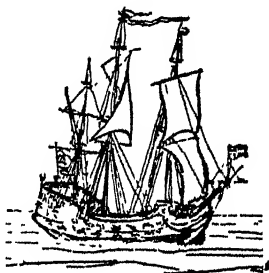
PART I

Diary of a SIX WEEKS' TOUR in 1698 in
HOLLAND and FLANDERS

PART II

The *Story* of the *MARY GALLEY*
1704-1710

Edited by
Lieut.-Colonel Sir RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt.
C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.



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PREFACE

THROUGH the kindness of Lieut.-Colonel Henry Howard, F.S.A., the present owner of the *Bowrey Papers*, I have been able to prepare this volume for press. The romance of the discovery of the *Papers*, of which two sections now published form but a small fraction, is told in the Introduction. These two sections are the story of Bowrey's trip to the Netherlands in 1698 in his yacht the *Duck* and the history of the *Mary Galley*, 1704-1710, an East Indiaman belonging chiefly to him. They are illustrated and supplemented by information from contemporary works and whenever possible from unpublished mss.

For the Illustrations I am indebted to Mr John Humphreys, M.A., F.S.A., and to the Victoria and Albert and the Science Museums. The plan of the sea-fight is the work of Mr G. S. Laird Clowes, and that of the "great cabin" of the *Mary Galley* is a reproduction of Bowrey's own work.

The maps illustrating Bowrey's tour have been drawn by Miss Alice J. Mayes and carried out by the staff of the Royal Geographical Society. The small charts in the Diary of the tour and in the Sailing Directions attached to it are reproduced from Bowrey's own sketches. Most of the photography has been done by Mr Donald Macbeth with most satisfactory results.

The nautical character of the present volume impressed me with the need for expert assistance in technical details, and it was my good fortune to secure the help of Mr G. S. Laird Clowes, in charge of the Ship Models at the Science Museum. To his keen interest in everything regarding Bowrey's yacht, the *Duck*, and his East Indiaman, the *Mary Galley*, and to his ungrudging labours on my behalf, the volume owes more than I can express. Indeed, it is to his unselfishness that it owes much of what value it may possess, in that there are produced in it, fully edited, the details of the construction of a small ship of the early eighteenth century

and of a small yacht of the late seventeenth, information in both cases being almost unique. I have called attention in the work to the portions for which Mr Laird Clowes is responsible, but I desire also to express here my great obligation to him.

Many other scholars have given me the benefit of their knowledge in solving puzzles, and their help is acknowledged with the information they have supplied. But I wish specially to thank the following: Mr Malcolm Letts, F.R.Hist.S., who read the whole of the Diary in typescript and contributed several valuable notes; Mr John Humphreys, M.A., F.S.A., who provided me with the story of the discovery of the Papers at Cleeve Prior Manor House and the history of that place and its tenants; Mr John Gillson Auger who identified Bowrey's sea marks in his Sailing Directions for the Essex Coast; and the readers of that valuable periodical *Notes and Queries*, through whose assistance at least three puzzles were solved.

Among my own helpers, Miss Alice J. Mayes has been already mentioned, in connection with the maps. She also undertook the treatment of the portion of Bowrey's Sailing Directions that had been damaged by sea-water, and after partially restoring the writing, she deciphered the pages, no easy task as will be seen from the one reproduced. Miss M. J. Bremner has been of great assistance, since her knowledge of old Dutch enabled her to consult many contemporary works and to add materially to the value of the notes in Part I. My typist, Miss J. M. Foster, has exercised her usual care and accuracy in the copying of the numerous papers and in the decipherment of a certain number of them.

To the Cambridge University Press and its reader, for excellence in printing and detection of errors in proof, my hearty thanks are also due.

The same method as that employed in the editing of the Mundy MS. has been used, *viz.* contractions have been extended, the substitution of *u* for *v* and *ff* for *F* have been disregarded and punctuation has been modernised where necessary for the sense, but the original spelling has been

retained throughout. The plan carried out in the arrangement of the Papers is explained in the prefatory notes to each section.

The value of a book of this nature is greatly increased by a complete index, and therefore much trouble has been taken in compiling one that will be useful to students of travel and nautical affairs.

Miss L. M. Anstey, my old coadjutrix, has once more been invaluable in superintending the production of the whole work, and on her has fallen the bulk of the labour involved, firstly in sorting the great mass of Papers on many subjects left behind by Thomas Bowrey and his heirs without any kind of order, and then in selecting those that related to the section of them now published. Secondly, in putting together in readable order the papers thus selected for publication, the work largely fell upon her. Lastly, she has been my chief helper in preparing them for this volume. I cannot thank her too greatly.

R. C. TEMPLE

BEAU RIVAGE, MONTREUX
SWITZERLAND

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

IN 1898 the late Sir Edward Tylor suggested to me in conversation at Oxford that I should edit a certain MS. of the seventeenth century about India, then in the possession of Mr Eliot Howard. He mentioned that it had been used by Sir Henry Yule in his *Diary of William Hedges*, and that it contained at least one remarkable perversion of a Hindu name in Jno. Gernaet for Jagannāth (Juggernaut). The suggestion resulted in the publication of a volume by this Society in 1905, for 1903, called *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*, under my editorship. The MS. was anonymous and was entitled "Asia, Wherein is contained the scituation, comerse, cus[toms], &c., of many Provinces, Isles, &c , in India, Persi[a], Arabia, and the South Seas, Experienced by me T.B., in the forementioned Indie[s], Vizt., from Anno MDCLXIX. to MDCLXXIX." It therefore became important to ascertain the identity of T.B. This proved to be a very difficult matter and, as is related in the Introduction to the above-mentioned volume (pp. xviii-xxiii), it took two years of research to settle it. Even then, it was only proved by the accidental discovery, in itself a romance, that the T.B. of the MS. must have been the Thomas Bowrey who wrote *A Dictionary of English and Malay*, published in 1701.

In the course of the search for the identity of Thomas Bowrey much information regarding his life was ascertained. He was born about 1650, landed at Fort St George, Madras, in 1669 as a "free merchant," *i.e.*, an "interloper" from the East India Company's point of view. In 1672 he was in Masulipatam and Pettipollee, and in 1674 in Balasor, all on the east coast of India. In 1675 he was in Junkceylon on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. In 1676 he went from Hugli to Madras, and in 1677 he was back in Junkceylon. Soon after this he must have gone to the Persian Gulf, and in 1681 he is heard of again, drawing up a chart of Ceylon,

probably in Madras. In 1682 he was in Madapollam, and in 1684 he went to Batavia and returned to Madras in the same year, whence he wandered about the east coast of India, reaching Madapollam once more by 1685. Then he went to Achin in Sumatra, from there to Batavia, and finally back to Madras. In 1686 he was in Cuddalore and Porto Novo on the east coast, and thence sailed to Borneo, returning eventually to Madras. Almost immediately afterwards he sailed again for Porto Novo and across the Bay of Bengal to Junkceylon, coming back to Madras in 1687, and remaining there awhile before taking a short journey to Tranquebar. He had now been wandering incessantly about the Bay of Bengal for eighteen years, and he proceeded to arrange for his return to England, but he was compelled to postpone the journey, as he got into serious trouble with the Havildar (Governor) of Porto Novo, out of which he escaped with much worry to himself and the English Council at Madras. Then he sailed again for Achin and thence to Bengal for the third time. On 4 October 1687 his ship was wrecked off Madras, but procuring a new one in 1688, he went back to Porto Novo, thence to Madras, and thence once again to Achin, where the great traveller, Dampier, found him. From Achin he went to Bengal and finally to Madras, from which place he sailed for England on 20 October 1688 in the *Bengal Merchant*.

In England Bowrey was heard of in 1689 and 1690. On 17 September 1691 he married his cousin Mary Gardiner in the Parish Church of Lee, Blackheath, and settled down as an East India merchant in Marine Square, Wapping. Thereafter, from the information then available, it seemed that he disappeared for some years from active life, as he was only mentioned as the possessor of East India Stock in 1694, 1695 and 1696. But in 1699 he made a "Proposall" to the Board of Directors of the East India Company about "the South Seas," *i.e.* the Malay Archipelago. Then, in 1706, he turned up as an acquaintance of Peter Briggins, through whom the MS. of his Indian travels from 1669 to 1679 came into the possession of Mr Eliot Howard. There are also in the *Diary of Peter Briggins* (printed in the *Eliot Papers*, 1893/4) notes

on the intercourse of the two men in London in 1707 and 1708. Subsequently Bowrey put forward more "Proposals" to the East India Company and the Lord High Treasurer in 1708, 1711 and 1712. Entries also regarding Bowrey in Peter Briggins' *Diary* continue to occur, the last of them on 15 October 1712. Then, on 5 and 11 March 1713, we find that Peter Briggins helped him at the "Insuerance Office." On the latter day Bowrey signed his will, and three days later he was buried. It thus became clear that he led as busy a life in England as he had led in India, but beyond scraps of information, accidentally found in various places, nothing seemed to have been preserved to show what that life was, or how he passed his time. There I was forced to let the story rest until, by another romance, the whole of Bowrey's papers became available.

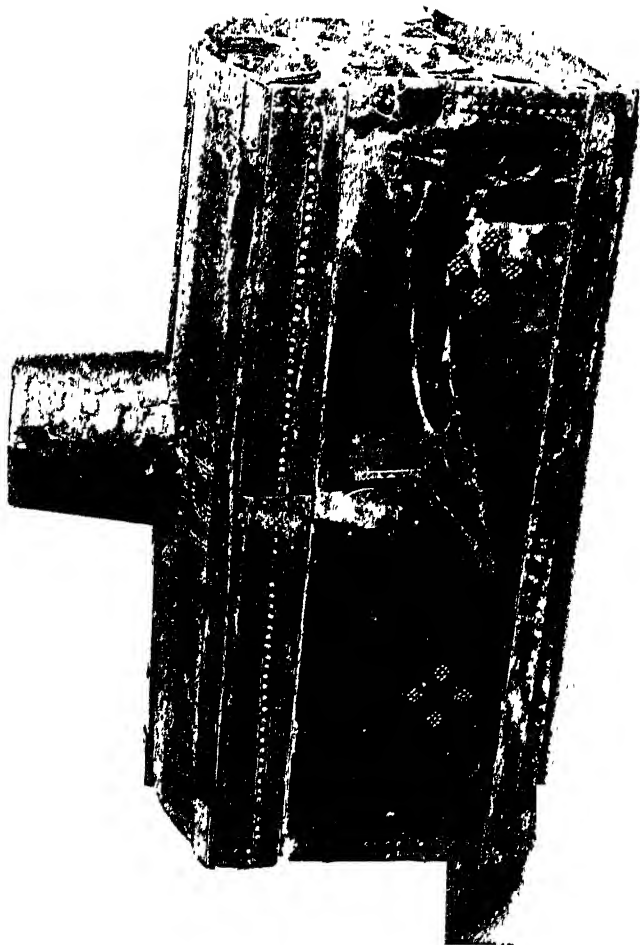
In August 1913, two hundred years after Bowrey's death, Mr John Humphreys, M.A., F.S.A., the well-known antiquary of Birmingham, was told by a friend residing at Cleeve Prior, that in turning out a windowless dark room in the manor house, an old chest filled with bundles of odd letters and papers was brought to light. Cleeve Prior is a village near Evesham in South Worcestershire, within twenty miles of my own family home, and close to Salford Priors, where I was from 1858 to 1864 at a long-since discontinued preparatory school, called Park Hall, kept by the late Rev. Samuel Garrard. I often wandered then in the woods of Cleeve Prior in the neighbourhood.

On receiving the above information, Mr Humphreys at once visited the manor house, then tenanted as a farmhouse by Mr Harry Hiorns, and learned that the chest contained a large collection of documents referring to the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Mr Hiorns allowed him to examine them and he found, among many documents of a different nature, letters and papers relating to a Captain Thomas Bowrey who, at the end of the seventeenth century, was trading to India and had evidently been well educated. Judging from his documentary remains he was a remarkable personality, possessing not only the

characteristics which go to make the successful merchant, but also considerable scholarly attainments, which caused him to take notes of the countries he visited, their inhabitants, their languages and their customs.

With the help of Mrs Perkins of Cleeve Prior, Mr Humphreys arranged all the documents in the chest in chronological order, but he did not know who Captain Bowrey was, nor could he find definite traces of him. It seemed strange, however, that a man, apparently from his papers so prominent a pioneer of English commerce in the Indian Ocean at this early date, should have been forgotten, or that the evidence relating to his life should have been buried in an obscure Worcestershire farmhouse for two centuries. Two questions presented themselves. How came the chest with the documents of an East India merchant, who resided at Wapping, to be concealed in a closet in a lonely manor house in the county of Worcester? And what brought them there in the first instance? It was only by patient enquiry that the questions were answered.

Firstly, in the course of various efforts to find a solution, Mr Humphreys saw a notice of *The Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, published eight years previously and referred to above. He then learned something of his hero, and fortunately the mass of papers in the chest provided material for a full life of him. Next, in September 1913 Mr Humphreys met the present writer, the editor of the Bowrey MS. printed by the Hakluyt Society, at a meeting of the British Association at Birmingham, with which they were both officially connected. We at once agreed to go thoroughly into the papers. Meanwhile, there became greatly interested in the find a mutual friend of Mr Humphreys and myself, Lieut.-Colonel Henry Howard, F.S.A., of Stone House, Stone, near Kidderminster, a cousin of Mr Eliot Howard of Ardmore, Buckhurst Hill, Essex, the owner of Bowrey's MS. above noted. After some conversation it was decided that an attempt should be made by Colonel Howard to acquire the papers, amongst which were many receipts for rent paid by Bowrey for properties let to him by Colonel Howard's



Photographed at the Museum

THE CHEST IN WHICH THE BOWREY PAPERS WERE DISCOVERED IN 1913

Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington

ancestors, and that they should be put in order and edited, at any rate in part, by myself.

Mr Harry Hiorns, the occupant of Cleeve Prior manor house, was not, however, inclined to part with the chest or its contents, though he had raised no objection to an examination of the papers. So it was not until after his death on 19 October 1921 that Colonel Howard was able to purchase the documents and their receptacle. He has since presented the chest to the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London. It measures 3 ft. 3 in. in length, 2 ft. 1 in. in breadth, and 1 ft. 6 in. in depth, and the lid is hollowed out so as to accommodate the "steeple" hat of the period. On the top, in brass-headed nails, are the initials "E. B." and the date "1649." It was a travelling chest, made of wood, covered with leather and lined with canvas (see Plate II).

It is not certain, however, that the chest belonged to Bowrey's family. It is quite as likely to have been a Bushell chest, taken up to London by his wife's cousin, Thomas Bushell (of whom further anon), from Cleeve Prior. It will be seen that on it there are the initials "E. B." Now, the only member of Bowrey's family with these initials, as yet discovered, is Elizabeth Bowrey, believed to have been his mother. But the chest is a man's chest and E. B. more probably represents Edward Bushell, the grandfather of Thomas Bushell above-mentioned, who was baptised in Cleeve Prior church 1 September 1604 and died 25 September 1671.

THE OWNERS OF THE CHEST AND THEIR HOME¹

The relationship of Thomas Bowrey to Thomas Bushell makes the former connected with what was then a well-known Midland family, established at Cleeve Prior. At the dissolution of the religious houses in the reign of Henry VIII, the manor came into the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, in whose hands it remained until 1857. It then passed to the care of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and

¹ Compiled by John Humphreys, M.A., F.S.A.

remained so until quite recently, when the farm was sold. It is an interesting fact that it was always an ecclesiastical possession, having been given originally by King Ethelred (brother of King Alfred) to the Priory of Worcester in 872, so that for more than a thousand years it continued in the hands of the church.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, the family of Bushell from the neighbouring parish of Broad Marston settled in the manor house as tenants, and for two hundred years remained permanently resident at Cleeve. Captain Thomas Bowrey died at Wapping in 1713 and his wife two years afterwards. Her mother, Mrs Gardiner, died in 1720, leaving, as trustee and executor for the Bowrey estate and her own, her nephew, Thomas Bushell of the manor house at Cleeve Prior, who was then twenty-three years of age.

In one of the letters discovered, dated from "The Square," that is, Marine Square, London, Bowrey's old home, on 17 February 1720, Thomas Bushell writes home to his cousin Mrs Brace, at Cleeve: "I have sent down this day by Darby the iron Chest, with the plate and jewels; its about two hundred weight. George with a whell [*sic*] barrow will bring him home. You can't unlock him till I send down the key." He was unable to accompany the plate and the jewels at the time, for he says: "The apothecary this day assures me that mine are certainly the small pox. I thank God they are a very kind sort of pox...I hope to God Mother will not be affrighted." Then, on winding up the estate, Thomas Bushell either sent back the Bushell chest which he had brought up to London from Cleeve, or sent a Bowrey chest (it is not certain which), containing the papers of Thomas Bowrey, his cousin by marriage. There the papers remained hidden away in the manor house and entirely forgotten.

The Bushells were allied by marriage with many of the leading Worcestershire families, as the Wyntours of Huddington, Sheldons of Abberton and Beoley, and Savages of Elmley Castle, and in 1696 Robert Bushell, Thomas Bushell's father, married Diana Fettiplace, sister of Sir George Fettiplace of Swinbrook, near Burford in Oxfordshire. The line

of the Bushells of Cleeve Prior terminated in 1743, when Thomas Bushell of the Bowrey papers, born in 1697, and sheriff of Worcestershire in 1729, succeeded to the vast estates of his uncle, Sir George Fettiplace of Swinbrook, and by special Act of Parliament took the name of Fettiplace.

The Fettiplace estates included properties at Lambourn, Childrey, Bessels Leigh and East Shefford, Berkshire, as well as at Swinbrook. In his will Sir George Fettiplace, after making many charitable bequests, left all his estates and property to his nephew Thomas Bushell, Esq., of Cleeve Prior. "I give them to him for the kindness I have for him, being my sister Diana's son." Thomas Bushell thus succeeded to £180,000 in cash and estates bringing in £8000 a year. An old Oxfordshire rhyme says of the family:

The Lacey's, the 'Tracy's, and Fettiplaces,
Own all the mansions, the woods, and the places.

It was thus that the connection of the Bushells with Cleeve Prior, which had continued unbroken for a couple of centuries, came to an end in 1743, and the family migrated to Swinbrook, the magnificent home of the Fettiplaces. Thomas Bushell died at Swinbrook in 1767, as Thomas Fettiplace, and was buried in Swinbrook Church, where his death and that of his wife are recorded on a tablet in the south wall:

In memory of Thomas Fettiplace, Esq., Son of Diana, the wife of Robert Bushell, Esq., of Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire, one of the sisters of Sir George Fettiplace, Bart., who died the 8th day of October, 1767, aged 70 years.

Also in memory of Frances, wife of the said Thomas Fettiplace, one of the daughters of Edmund Perry, Esq., of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire, who died the 3rd day of February 1764, aged 63 years.

The manor house and farm of Cleeve Prior, after ceasing to be in the occupation of the Bushells, was tenanted first by a family named Melin, and in 1790 by Mr Bateman, from Asthall, near Burford, in Oxfordshire, who lived there until about 1808, when he took up his residence at Asthall Manor, which he had inherited. He was succeeded by Mrs Lunn, a widow, and by the Holtons, who followed in 1831 and

resided there until 1920. Mrs Hiorns, formerly Miss Holton, the wife of the late occupant, is the last of the family.

When Thomas Bushell migrated to Swinbrook, he ceased to trouble about the chest of old Bowrey papers, which did not interest him, and consequently he left behind him at Cleeve the chest and its contents and the family portraits of the Bushells. No one had even examined the papers or untied the tapes which secured the documents, until it was Mr Humphrey's good fortune to discover them. There were several good portraits in the house, dating back to the time of Elizabeth, or to the early part of the seventeenth century, and some of the reign of Charles II, all unnamed and undated.

The manor house itself is a picturesque building of two storeys, a patchwork of several periods. The oldest part, on the north-west, belongs probably to the middle of the sixteenth century, forming part of the original home of Edward, the first of the Bushells (see Plate I). The dining-room and drawing-room are panelled, and long winding passages lead to the bedrooms.

In the floor of one of the upper rooms is a curious hiding place, where a trap-door gives access to a deep shaft, which communicates with an opening pointing to the north-west under the garden, popularly supposed to be a tunnel, with outlet now closed up. Tradition records that Thomas Bushell was concealed here in 1650 for some time, but ultimately gained his liberty by giving security for his good behaviour. Excavations were, however, made in the summer of 1915, when it was demonstrated that the shaft was originally a garderobe in the oldest part of the building, which was afterwards converted into a hiding place in the time of the Commonwealth. There is no appearance externally of an underground passage, the opening being flush with the original masonry. The wooden bolt on the inside of the trap-door seems to confirm the theory of its later use. As the Bushells were Protestants, the hiding place can have no connection with the religious persecution of the Roman Catholics.

The two-storied entrance hall, of late Elizabethan or early Jacobean date, is one of the most interesting features in the



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THE APOSTLES WALK, CLEEVE PRIOR MANOR HOUSE

building. It is approached by a fine specimen of an Elizabethan doorway, which is of late sixteenth-century date; so is the oak staircase. Many of the windows retain their stone mullions, and underneath a window of four lights is a frieze with carved human and lions' heads, and a scroll with an inscription: "Dwe ette mv/ne Droite" (Dieu et mon Droit), and on either side is a prominent female bust, the head of the left figure being damaged. On the gable above is the figure of a winged cherub, representing the crest of the Bushells. The panelled drawing-room on the left of the entrance hall was originally used as the Court Room for the Manor, where suits were heard, until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The stables, granaries, barns and dovecotes are beautiful illustrations of the buildings surrounding a manor house in Elizabethan times and are all in perfect preservation, forming, with the house, a complete picture of the residence of a county family of that period. Until the year 1834 there was an ancient and very remarkable barn of a great size included in the premises of the manor house at Cleeve. It was destroyed by fire on 22 October of that year. It had two large porches and in general outline bore great resemblance to the barn still standing at Middle Littleton in Worcestershire (said to have been built by Abbot Ombersley, elected Abbot of Evesham in 1367, died in 1379); but it was even larger, and the timbering of the roof more remarkable, forming, indeed, a single span.

The magnificent yew avenue leading to the entrance hall of Cleeve Prior manor house, known as "the twelve apostles and four evangelists" (see Plate III), trimmed into numerous arcades, is one of the most striking external features of the place. There are also peacocks which seem to fit the old world walls and gardens, and everywhere there is a delightful feeling of restfulness and peace.

THE PAPERS AND THEIR CONTENTS

To whomsoever the chest originally belonged, the reasons why it contained the papers of Thomas Bowrey are as follows. After nineteen years' travel about the Bay of Bengal, 1669-88, Bowrey was back in England in 1689, and in 1691, as has been already noted, he married his cousin Mary Gardiner. She was a daughter of Dr Philip Gardiner, an apothecary of Wapping, near London, and Frances his wife. Bowrey's blood relationship to the Gardiner family is further confirmed by a letter from Dr Philip Gardiner addressed to him at Bantam in 1674, and it was through Frances Gardiner, his mother-in-law, that his marriage connected him with Thomas Bushell and thus, as will have been seen above, also with the Fettiplaces, the great Oxfordshire family, which in wealth and position occupied so distinguished a place in the England of that time. Bowrey used the neighbourhood of London as his principal residence till his death in 1713. His wife died in 1715 and her mother, Mrs Gardiner, in 1720. Mrs Gardiner appointed her nephew, Thomas Bushell of Cleeve Prior, as her executor, and on 21 February 1720 he went to London to wind up her estate, and as has been already seen, sent down to Cleeve Prior the great mass of papers that Bowrey left behind him, for he was a man who kept everything from a tax receipt to a draft "Proposall." All these papers had been faithfully preserved by his widow and her mother, and were afterwards placed in the chest above mentioned, together with a large number of others connected with the Gardiners and Bushells. There they remained hidden away for two hundred years.

The chest was filled with documents of all sorts and sizes, from books of accounts, records of law cases, shipping papers and correspondence, to mere slips of notes, covering Bowrey's life and the settlement of his own, his wife's and his mother-in-law's estates, together with papers connected with his father-in-law and with the Bushell family, the latter carrying on the record long after Bowrey's death. The earliest document discovered is dated 1669 and the latest 1751. These

documents were in no kind of order and some of the ships' papers were more or less damaged by sea-water; others had partially crumbled away, but happily few had suffered from damp, as the room in which the chest was housed was fortunately dry. The papers were tied in bundles and many were badly creased and crumpled. The first treatment, therefore, was obviously to straighten them out, a matter which Colonel Howard undertook himself, and after many hours of patient labour he succeeded in getting them all into a readable condition. They were then handed over to myself and Miss L. M. Anstey to put into such order as was possible. But before the straightening process was carried out, Mr Humphreys had gone through the whole collection, had taken copies of parts of many of the documents and had made a tentative calendar of their contents, a proceeding which proved exceedingly helpful when the business of systematic arrangement was put in hand.

There were hundreds of papers in all stages of legibility, and very many undated and unsigned. The task, therefore, of reducing them to order was no light one. However, by degrees, they collected themselves, as it were, roughly into two main groups, those of the time of Bowrey and his family, and those after his time relating to the Bushell family. In examining the former group it became evident that Bowrey was, all his life, a man of enormous energy and constant movement, and moreover, that he was mixed up with many, and some important, affairs. The papers are in fact a record of the greater part of his life. Eventually they were split up into sections as follows:

1. Documents relating to his life in India, including his mercantile and shipping transactions, and his correspondence.
2. Documents relating to his life in England from 1689 to 1713, including (i) Private correspondence, (ii) Household accounts.
3. Papers relating to the ships of which he was either part owner, or shareholder in the cargo. These include the documents giving the history of the *St George*, the *Prosperous*, the *Worcester*, the *Rising Sun* and the *Mary Galley*, together

with notes regarding the movements and cargoes of other vessels in which Bowrey was more or less directly interested.

4. Various schemes, of which he was the author, many of which were laid before the East India Company between the years 1696 and 1712, for it must be remembered that he was a Younger Brother of Trinity House. Such schemes include proposals for settlements on the coast of Africa and in the "South Seas," a scheme for the reduction of the pirates then infesting Madagascar, a plan to increase the East India Trade, a scheme to set up sugar and indigo plantations in Jamaica, etc., etc.
5. Papers regarding his Malay Dictionary and correspondence relating to it.
6. Diary of his journey to France, Flanders and Holland, with an account of expenses, and Sailing Directions for the Kentish and Essex coasts.
7. Papers connected with the Gardiner, Searle and Bushell families, a large number of which were added after Bowrey's death.
8. Miscellaneous shipping papers and accounts.
9. Miscellaneous printed and ms. papers.

The collection, as above, gives very little information regarding Bowrey's movements between 1689 and 1696. In the latter year he prepared for another voyage to India in the *St George*, but was prevented by an accident to the vessel from carrying the project into effect. In 1698 he made his trip to Holland with Nathaniel Long as detailed in Part I of this volume. His connection with Trinity House dated from 1691 when he was sworn a Younger Brother, and he was busily occupied in shipping ventures from that time until his death. He was also a shareholder in a Linen Manufacture Company, in the East India Stock and in Government Lotteries.

Among his correspondents Bowrey numbered Elihu Yale, Daniel Defoe, John Evans, Bishop of Bangor and Meath, and the principal members of Council and chief merchants in Bengal and Madras at the close of the seventeenth century. The Yale papers, two of them with original seals attached, have been presented by Colonel Howard to the Yale University, Connecticut, U.S.A. For relaxation Bowrey and his

wife sought the waters of Bath and Tunbridge Wells or the sea and country air of his father-in-law's property at Clacton. He was also a frequent visitor at Richmond. In addition to his shipping interests, Bowrey owned a considerable number of houses in the neighbourhood of Wapping, and was constantly occupied in superintending repairs, collecting rents, etc., etc.

It has long been my desire to edit fully these papers of a remarkable personage who has entirely disappeared from notice, but that would be a protracted procedure, which, as the years pass on, it may not be possible for me to accomplish. Through the kindness of the Hakluyt Society, however, a beginning has been made with two sets of the Bowrey documents. The first set contains a characteristically energetic Six Weeks' Tour in Flanders and Holland in 1698, a diary of which is in a pocket book with marbled cardboard cover, very closely written. In this also were found notes of sailing directions for the waters round the mouth of the Thames made between 1694 and 1701. Both are of considerable interest. The second set of documents contains the story of one of Bowrey's ships, the *Mary Galley*, from her construction in 1704 to her capture by French privateers in 1707, and the final settlement of her accounts in January 1710. The special interest of the story of this little vessel is that in it we have, what I believe is unique, the entire history of a ship in the early eighteenth century, from the contract for building her and the first meeting of her proposed owners, her voyage to Java and India and back, and her final end, even to the settlement of her accounts. Her papers are further of great importance to the historians of ship-building, as among other things there have been preserved the specifications and accounts of her construction, documents of that kind being rarely met with relating to small ships built in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, for that period, all the papers concerning Bowrey's ships are of great value.

The papers contain no definite information concerning Bowrey's youth, a period which is therefore still shrouded

in mystery. He arrived in India in 1669, leaving England in 1668, and from his subsequent career it can be conjectured that he was not less than eighteen when he left his native land. He was still an active man when he died in 1713, and it is pretty safe to assume that he was then not more than sixty-five years old. This gives the date of his birth as about 1648 to 1650. Wapping was probably his early home, for among his papers is a letter from Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Smith, then living in Bombay, constituting her brother, John Bowrey of Wapping, and Philip Gardiner, apothecary of Wapping, her attorneys. This letter is dated February 1669, the very year that Thomas Bowrey arrived in India, having previously associated with his uncle, Captain Smith¹.

Bowrey, from his travels all round the coast of Southern Asia, from the Persian Gulf to Borneo and Sumatra, trading from port to port, probably knew as much of the conditions of life in those regions as any man of his time. Being of a methodical turn of mind, he kept copies of the principal letters that he wrote, and preserved them, with the replies, so that in this way a connected history of his life for forty years is on record. He thus appears as one of the remarkable band of pioneers by whose labours the British Indian Empire has been established. He clearly foresaw the coming greatness of Britain by means of her commercial supremacy, the establishment of her colonies and the extension of her trade. From his wide experience, his versatile brain created schemes for this purpose that he submitted to the East India Company, for, though a keen man of business, he ever had in mind the planting of the English flag in the remote regions of the earth. In every sense of the phrase he was a man in advance of his time, one of those adventurous spirits who were worthy successors of the great Elizabethans.

¹ This accounts for Thomas Bowrey's employment of Henry Smith, an obvious ne'er-do-well according to the Papers, to look after his interests in Scotland in reference to the affairs of the *Worcester* in 1707. This Henry Smith, who had been in India, was probably a brother-in-law of Elizabeth Smith (*née* Bowrey) of the letter above mentioned. He sent Thomas Bowrey a diary of his proceedings, which has survived, but he did little to advance his client's interests and was recalled.

PART I
DIARY OF THE TOUR IN HOLLAND
AND FLANDERS

Hague to Ryswick

உள்ளிப்பிடி

Monday Sund: 26th 1699

At 1 y afternoon having hired a Wagon to
go to Wyck, it was agreed, I left for
6 Guilders this is say 12 sh and 6 p. 1856
is 5 sh and 6 p. on the 17th of y Mond
is for y States as usual. & the best way to
Gangem at y Wyck is to take it 100 p
out & in an hour was at the place.
I was to go to the place at 10 p.
I went to a Church at 10 p. I went
to Wyck is Wyck House is a fine
wood house it is a Count Gave Paard
40 Brick. I saw the House it is 250 ft
in length 2 stories high. Built w. white
stone has 16 rooms on a floor now all
the hangings were the ceilings indifferently
painted. Behind the House is Gardens.

Lyons to Housatonic

From Pyowick to Hensladwyck is ab: 5
miles, all y^e way thro a pleasant country
mostly town grounds is South wth West
lies 400 y^d above the Water, The Kings
House is ab 100 of square ffeet round
is 2 stories high, built ffeildscmly wth
Brick and Stone, has ab: 20 Rooms on a
floor in them a good deal of good
Paintings, Good furnitured, find China
Glas &c & in the last Ladders Closet wth
is all kind wth China latched boards &
the Mantel pedes curiously adorned wth:

INTRODUCTION

AS there have been at all times and everywhere, there must have been many men in England in the seventeenth century who led lives of constant movement. Among such are to be numbered the travellers Thomas Bowrey and Peter Mundy. Neither of them seems to have been able to sit still for long, and the story of Thomas Bowrey's tour in 1698 is an instance of his outstanding energy.

In 1694 he must have bought a pocket book $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing 75 leaves, for the purpose of making notes of his journeys in his yacht, the *Duck*, about the mouth of the Thames. The first four leaves are blank; the next nine contain notes on sailing directions for the waters round the mouth of the Thames, made between 1694 and 1701; the next twenty-five contain the *Diary* of the journey to Holland and Flanders; the next two again sailing directions; and the last thirty-five are again blank. Both the *Diary* and the *Sailing Directions* are of great historical interest, and the latter are printed as Appendix III to this part of the volume.

Writing in a small cramped seventeenth-century hand, with about 300 words to a page, Bowrey found a good deal of empty space in his pocket book in 1698, when at about fifty years of age, he had determined on a tour on the Continent. So he took the book with him to utilise it for a diary of his wanderings. The earlier pages containing the sailing directions have been damaged by sea-water, and before portions of them could be recovered for decipherment, they had to be chemically treated. A typical page has been photographed to show the reader what the manuscript is like.

Bowrey's tour seems to have been undertaken partly for business purposes, as he had commercial correspondents in Amsterdam and elsewhere, being, as we know from the accounts of his ship, the *Mary Galley*, given in Part II of this volume, a ship-builder and a ship-owner on a considerable

scale as well as a general East India merchant. But mainly he went abroad for pleasure, to see the Low Countries. He was in fact out for a holiday, and a very energetic holiday it was.

He undertook the journey in his own yacht, "the *Duck Yaut*" as he calls her, for the history of which see Appendix II. His travelling companion was his friend Nathaniel Long, a London merchant, and though he does not mention either the name of the vessel or of his friend in his *Diary*, we learn them from the accounts of the journey given in Appendix I. The need of rest and change of scene, as well as motives of business and pleasure, probably contributed to Bowrey's decision to go abroad for a short period. During the previous eighteen months he had had much worry and anxiety with consequent loss of health. The cause of his troubles was that he, with others, of whom Nathaniel Long was one, had freighted the *St George* galley for a voyage to India in the winter of 1696. Bowrey was to have sailed in her as master, but before she reached the Downs the vessel proved to be unseaworthy, and on her way into Portsmouth harbour for overhauling, she accidentally came into collision with a Swedish vessel and was so seriously injured that her voyage had to be abandoned. When the owners' accounts came to be settled, it was found that there would be a loss of £19. 11s. on each £100 subscribed. One of the owners, John Rolls, refused to pay his share, and on 19 April 1698 the other owners agreed to bring an action against him. It was while these proceedings were pending that Bowrey and Long took their trip abroad. At this time they were on intimate terms, but before the litigation ended their friendship had considerably cooled.

Nathaniel Long is described in his legal proceedings with Bowrey as a London merchant, but in Bowrey's account book of the joint journeys (Appendix I), he appears as Major Nathaniel Long, and in the endorsement of another account with him in 1704-5 as "Coll: Long," though in the body of that document he is called throughout "Ma: Long." His military title was probably due to his connection with the

London Train Bands or Hon. Artillery Company, but the papers show that he was also a merchant.

There is no evidence as to Bowrey's linguistic attainments, except as regards Oriental tongues, but he could not have had much difficulty in making himself understood in the Low Countries at the end of the seventeenth century, for the author of *Délices des Pais-Bas* (1697) says (p. 50): "L'Anglois y est à présent fort commun, tant à cause du voisinage de l'Angleterre avec les Pais-Bas, que parceque dans ces dernières Guerres, il y a grand nombre de Soldats Anglois qui viennent pour défendre ce Pais contre ses Ennemis."

It will be seen from his *Diary* that Bowrey's journey was a very rapid one, and his remarks are therefore of unequal value. For instance, he gives a capital description of Amsterdam, and there he seems to have taken careful note of everything worthy of observation, but in the other places he visited his lack of interest would be surprising but for his hurry. Thus, he has no remark on the famous organs in the church at Haarlem, nor on the bullets embedded in that structure. Neither does he mention that the first printed book was produced there. And then, although he describes the Palace at Ryswyk, he ignores the Treaty that had recently been concluded within its walls. At Antwerp he has faint praise for the beautiful Cathedral and no mention of the marble altar or of that wonderful Rubens picture, "The Descent from the Cross." He tells us that grass was growing in the streets, but has nothing to say of Antwerp's former greatness nor of the reason of its decline. At Dordrecht he ignores the "great Church" with its "vast square Belfry," the "Town-house" and the one "for coining Money," all of which excited De Blainville's admiration in 1743.

With these preliminary remarks, I propose now to give a brief outline of Bowrey's tour. He left Greenwich on the evening of 28 May 1698, with Nathaniel Long, and went in the *Duck* down the Thames as far as "the Land End of Sheppey." Next day he reached Margate, sailing for Deal in the early morning, and then "stood right over for Calice,"

reaching "Calice Haven" in three hours. In his pocket book he draws a characteristic chart of the harbour, with the south point at the top, but it shows that the harbour has not materially altered since 1698. He then gives a brief description of what he saw in "Calice" and a good account of currency and prices.

On 31 May, he sailed for Dunkirk, seeing Grave-lines *en route*. He stayed at Dunkirk all that day and the following one, describing it with interesting references to the now unknown Splinter Sands, the fortifications, the Benedictine Nunnery and the picture of St George by Porbus. Then, on 2 June he sailed for Ostend, which he reached on the 3rd early in the morning, passing by "Newport" (Nieuport). On arrival he makes straight for the "Sars [*sas*] which is the Gates or Entrance to the Canal of Bruges," and "at 7 the morn wee Embarked in the Track boat for Bruges." He then gives a description of Bruges and an interesting account of its currency.

The next day, 4 June, at eight o'clock "we departed with the Track Skute" for Ostend, of which he did not think much, though he draws a delightful plan of it. On 5 June, at six in the morning, he started by sea for Flushing, passing by the way Blankenberghe, Heyst, Sluis and Kadzand and seeing "Midleburgh steeple." He reached Flushing early in the afternoon. On the same day he "agreed with a Master of a Hoigh [*hoy*] bound to Rotterdam for a Man to Pilott us Thro The Inland Chanells," and he started on the journey then and there. He went through Het Sloe channel between Walcheren and Beveland with Veere on his left and then up the Zand Kreek between Beveland and Keeten to the Ooster Schelde, with Goes on his right. He then crossed the Ooster Schelde and reached Stavenisse on de Keeten Channel, between Tholen and Duiveland, seeing Zierikzee on the left. He managed all this on the 6th, and at two o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th he reached Vianen on Duiveland, where the boat anchored.

At seven o'clock in the evening he started again, and passing through the narrow channel between St Philipsland and

Duiveland, entered the broad de Krammer Channel. Passing up that and the narrow Volkerak, he reached Willemstad, which he rightly remarked "is the First Firm land." He then went up the Hollandsch Diep to Willemsdorp, and then by the very narrow Dordtsche Kil to Dordrecht. Thence by the Oude Maas, the Merwade, de Noord Channel and the Maas to Rotterdam, which he reached at five o'clock on the evening of the 8th. He had thus followed practically the modern steamboat route from Antwerp to Rotterdam beyond the Het Sloe Channel.

At this point Bowrey gives a very brief account of Rotterdam, though he notices the "Cutt paper work," and "At 7 this morning [9 June] we having hired a covered Wagon" started for Tergau [Gouda] by road, where he arrived at ten o'clock in the morning. Here he was impressed with the stained glass windows in the Groote Kerk, but he only stayed one hour, leaving "at 11 aclock the forenoone" by "Track Skute" for Amsterdam. It will be seen that he was still going at top speed, for to spend three hours in a "covered Wagon" from Rotterdam to Gouda and then an hour of sightseeing before starting in the "Track Skute" for Amsterdam was really hard travelling. However, on this occasion, "We hired the After Cabin."

It took $12\frac{1}{2}$ hours to be towed the 36 miles to Amsterdam, *via* Ouderkerk, and the great city was not reached until half-past eight in the evening of 10 June. But the rush was over, as Bowrey evidently had business here, which he proceeded to do. Also he "did" the place. On the 11th and 12th he saw the sights usual to travellers in his day, and gives an intelligent, and sometimes a valuable, description of what he observed. Among other things, he went on Sunday, 12 June, to "One of the English Churches alias Meeting house, being of the Brownist: a small Place meanly sett out; about 200 Persons and most of them seemingly but Ordinary." On the three following days he dined with his merchant friends and continued his sightseeing. On the 16th he was taken to "the Play hous...the Scenes Indifferent: the Actors, I Beleive Act well." On the 17th he finished his visit to

Amsterdam and gives a long table of the currency there. Although he stayed there nearly a week, his descriptions show that he can hardly have been still for an hour.

On the 17th "At 4 this afternoon we Embarked on the Track Skute for Harlem." This short journey is very interesting, because Bowrey saw the Haarlem Meer before it was drained and turned into a *polder*. He describes the Meer as "soe wide I could not see from side to side." He also remarks on the point where he shifted from one boat into another along the canal—a point which is still marked by Halfway Station. Bowrey has a brief description of Haarlem and notices the tape and linen manufacture there. On the 18th he started by "Track Skute" again for Leyden at 10.0 a.m., arriving at 2.0 p.m., and leaving at 5.0 p.m. for the Hague. In his three hours at Leyden he managed to see a good deal, but at the Hague he stayed till the 20th and made a journey to Scheveningen, then a village, though the existing tiled and wooded way to it was already a source of wonder to travellers. Bowrey gives a useful account of what he saw at the Hague, and on the afternoon of 20 June he went by road, "having hired a Wagon" to Ryswyk, Honselaarsdijk and Delft. He saw the Nieuwburg at Ryswyk, which he calls "Ryswick House," and the "Kings House" at Honselaarsdijk. Of Delft and its "China" there is a brief description, including a note: "In One of the Churches is Preaching in English." At half past eight o'clock, the same evening, after a truly arduous day, he left Delft by "Track Skute" for Rotterdam, reaching that place at 9.0 p.m. By four o'clock on the next afternoon, 21 June, he left Rotterdam by the water route for Dordrecht, which he reached at 11.0 p.m. At noon on the 22nd, having noticed, and probably tested, the "good Rhenish Wines and good Beer" of Dordrecht, he left for Flushing by the same route as he came, and arrived there on the 23rd.

On 24 June Bowrey sent his "Yaut" from Flushing to Ostend and went himself down the Wester Schelde to Antwerp. He found the Dutch frontier to be just beyond Fort Lillo and the Spanish (Netherlands) frontier to be at Fort

Ste Marie. The same day he reached Antwerp. Here he stayed till the 27th, and he gives a longish and most interesting account of what he saw, together with the legend of the Giant of Antwerp. His descriptions seem to imply that he had friends in the city to tell him where to go, and no doubt his visit was partly dictated by business interests.

On the 27th at noon Bowrey made his way to Dendermonde (Termonde) up the Schelde, the buildings of which he describes as "Indifferent." On the 28th, at 6.0 a.m., he started by canal for Ghent, which he reached four hours later. There he stayed until 30 June.

At Ghent he gives quite a good, though brief, description of all he saw during the two days he was there. He also called on business friends. At noon on the 30th he started by boat for Bruges, but was delayed and did not really get off until 1 July at 5.0 a.m., and then only as far as Bruges Port, a short distance out on the canal. He had some more difficulties *en route* and did not reach Bruges till 9 p.m. on 2 July. On the 3rd he watched a "Company of Archers" at a shooting competition. At 2 p.m. he started again for Ostend.

At Ostend he was delayed by a westerly gale till 7 July, but by four o'clock on the afternoon of the 8th the *Duck* was near Dunkirk, "where having some Concerns I went away with the Boat, ordering the Yaut to follow." With true commercial secrecy he does not say what the "Concerns" were, but having attended to them, he went on board again "at 8 the Even," and by "8 the Morning" of 9 July "we Stood in for Calis." By "11 aclock gott out of Calice," but a thick fog arose and lasted till the 10th, and so it was "10 night Calme" before he anchored off Sandown Castle near Walmer, since demolished. At "8 the Morn" of 11 July he was in "a Hollow, deep Sea" off Ramsgate. That afternoon he was off the Isle of Sheppey, and finally on 12 July "Between 12 and One aclock this Noone wee arrived at Greenwich."

Thus ended safely as strenuous a tour as could well be undertaken by a man of his age, although it was made in a small sailing vessel at sea, and on shore in slow waggons on roads, or in still slower boats on canals.

DIARY

LONDON TO MARGATE.

*Saturday May the 29th*¹. This afternoone at 5 the Wind at N.E., about $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebb weighed from Greenwich. About 7 Anchored a mile below Halfway Tree². At 2 this morning weighed; winds between the N.N.E. and E.N.E. Little winds and Calms. About 9 the morn Anchored ofe the Shopman³. About Noone, the Wind Springing up at S.S.W. a Gentle Gale, we Weighed and stood down with the Land End of Sheppey⁴.

Sunday May the 29th. Kept about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Lands End and then stood away with the Reculvers, which brought us in sight of the Buoys. Stood thro betweene them, and when thro the Eastermost Buoy, stood in for the shoare with Bunchington [Birchington]⁵ steeple. When about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shoar, stood alongst shoare as came neare Margate. Halled in for the shoare and Rounded the Nailer⁶, being the West Point of Margate bay, in 7 foot at Low water and about 100 Yards Distance, and at 6 the afternoone Anchored in Margate bay in 6 foot water; low water.

In the morn at 2 a clock weighed with the Wind at S.W., a Moderate Gale and about $\frac{1}{4}$ Ebb, stood right ofe to give birth [berth] to the Point of Rock reaching ofe from the East Point of Margate Bay⁷. When about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile ofe stood along

¹ A slip for "28th." See date next below.

² See Map I.

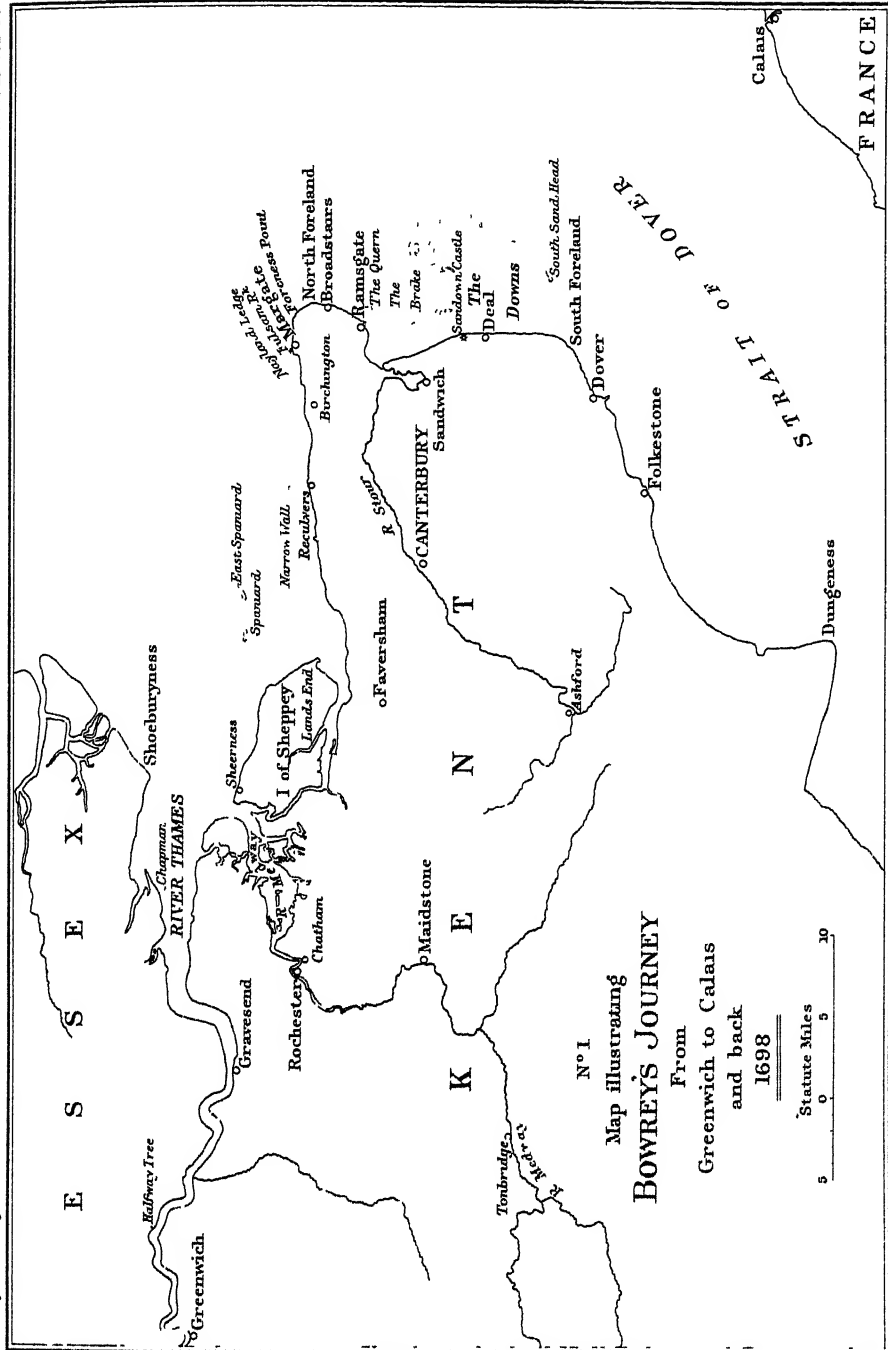
³ "Shopman" appears to be Bowrey's rendering of "Chapman Shoals" See Map I.

⁴ Still known as Lands End. It is in $51^{\circ} 25' N.$ Lat. and $0^{\circ} 55' E$ Long. See Map I

⁵ The steeple of St Margaret's, Birchington "With Birchington steeple S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., you will have passed the banks, and may stand towards Margate sand" (*Sailing Directions for the South part of the North Sea*, 1869, p. 26).

⁶ The Nayland Rock and Ledge. See *Index Nauticus* and Map I.

⁷ The Fulsam chalk rock, which, like the Nayland on the East side of Margate Haibour, is covered before high water. See *Sailing Directions*, p. 26.



shoare to the Eastward, giving birth to Black-ness, lying about $\frac{1}{4}$ a Mile to the Westward of the [North] Foreland¹. When to the Eastward of it, halled up as near as the wind would Permit, the shoar being bold from Black-ness; rounded the Foreland, then Turned to Windward giving a birth to a Point of Rocke which lyes a little to the Southward of Bradstow² and came about 1 mile into the Sea, soe Turned Thro between the Brake and the Quern³. Had depth in the Chanell $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe, and the said Chanell is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles off[f] Shoare and the Quern lyes right ofe Ramsgate, and is the Iner sand. A little to the Southward of the Brake lyes a sand on which is shoal water. From Margate to the North Foreland is about 3 miles from the Foreland to [blank] about [blank] miles from [blank] to Ramsgate about [blank]. About 1 mile to the Southward of Ramsgate is the Entrance to Sandwich. Then stood thro the Downs to the Southward. From Ramsgate to Deale is about 7 miles. Stood to the Southward till brought the Lower light House on the South Foreland to the Northward of the uper light House, being the Mark to goe clear of the South sand Head⁴; then stood right over for Calice [Calais], at 10 the morn Calme.

Munday May the 30th. At 1 the afternoon with a small breze at S.E. stood in to Calice Haven⁵, the Tide of Ebbe being Just made out and runs about 3 miles an hour between the Peers⁶. Stood in at about 30 Yards distance to the East-

¹ Blackness appears to be Foreness in $51^{\circ} 23' N$ Lat. and $1^{\circ} 26' E$. Long., from which the Longnose rocks stretch northward about three quarters of a mile. See Map I.

² Bradstow, the old name for Broadstairs. Hasted, *History of Kent*, ed. 1799, iv, 363, says: "Broadstairs, usually called by the inhabitants Bradstow, and so named from the Saxon words *Bradsteow*, i.e. a broad place."

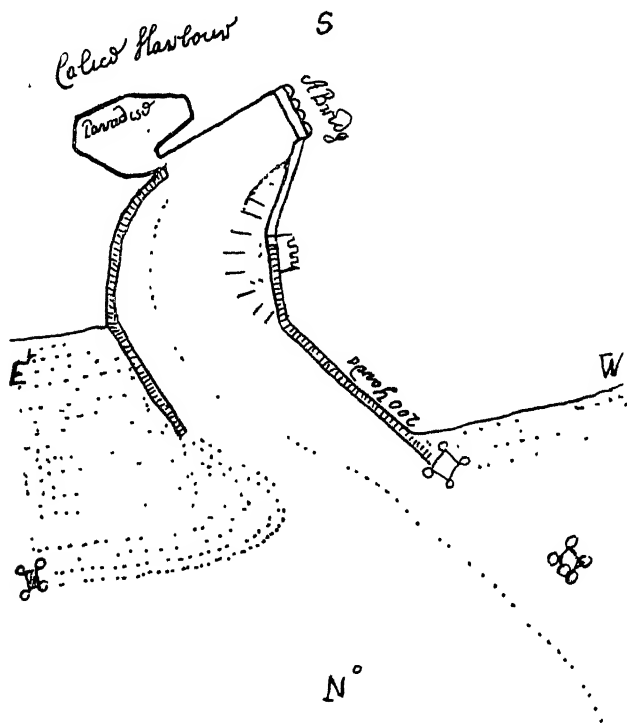
³ The Brake Sand is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ m long and $\frac{1}{2}$ m. in breadth and is marked by North, South and Middle Brake Buoys. The Quern lies about a mile South of it. See Map I.

⁴ "Folkstone high land or church-tower, open of Shakspeare cliff, is the mark for sailing in clear of South Sand-head" (*Sailing Directions*, p. 43). It lies in $51^{\circ} 09' N$. Lat. and $1^{\circ} 29' E$. Long. See Map I.

⁵ So the passage was three hours.

⁶ In the 17th century the entrance to Calais harbour was protected by two jetties, one of wood and the other of wood and stone. See *Dict. Hist. et Politique des Gaules*, II, 33. See also *A New Journey to France*, 1715, p. 11.

ward of the Westernmost Redoubt¹, and from thence right away with the Westernmost Peer Head, going about 20 Yards to the Eastward of the said Head, and soe along by the said Peer till came up with the Eastermost Peer, then kept nearest



¹ Bowrey's "Westernmost Redoubt" which he passed "30 Yards distance to the Eastward" is shown in his draught at the end of the Western pier. See block plate in the text.

The writer of *A New Journey to France*, 1715, p. 11, also speaks of "two Wooden Forts built at each end [of the piers] in the sea, and a strong Stone Fort on the Right-hand half way the Peer."

Thomas Scott, who visited Calais on his way to Antwerp in 1672, mentions an "invincible Fort that commands the Sea" situated on "the Key," with another "opposite to that above the two gates" of the "impregnable" town (*Add. MS.* 18722, f. 9 v.-10). See *Dict. Hist.* pp. 31-32, for a full account of the fortifications of Calais in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

the Eastermost Peer. For the better explanation here follows a draught¹.

Found here the *Katharine* Yaut [yacht], Captain Millesent, and the *Heneritta*, Captain Robinson² [? and] 3 English Packett Boats.

IN CALICE.

See the Great Church which is indifferant [moderately] Large; the High Altar is of Marble finely wrought and is of the Jesuits Order³. The Capuchins Church Indifferent⁴; 2 Nunnerys French⁵; The Markett Place a large open Place; the Meat Markett small⁶ and the Meat very bad. The Town built of Flanders Brick⁷, mostly 2 stories high Covered with Tile; the streets indifferent broad.

¹ Bowrey drew his "draught" of "Calice Haven" with the south point at the top of the page, reversing the modern custom of map and plan drawing, but as he has carefully marked all the points of the compass, it is perfectly intelligible and shows that very little change has taken place in the general plan of the harbour to the present day.

² The *Katherine* yacht of 94 tons, built for Charles II by Phineas Pett at Deptford in 1661, had been commanded by Capt. Gabriel Millison since 14 December 1688.

Besides an old Third-rate, built in 1653-4, there was a Naval Yacht of 104 tons, called the *Henrietta*, built in 1663 by Christopher Pett at Woolwich, but as Capt. Robinson is not mentioned by Pepys in this connection, he must have been appointed to her after 1686. See Pepys' *Lists of the Royal Navy and of Commission Officers, Cat. of the Pepysian MSS.* vol. 1, Navy Records Soc. I am indebted for this note to Mr G. S. Laird Clowes, in charge of the collection of Ship-models in the Science Museum, South Kensington. Other notes in this section, supplied by Mr Laird Clowes, will be followed by his name in brackets.

³ The Parish Church of Notre Dame, rebuilt in the Decorated Gothic style in the fourteenth century while the English held Calais. The High Altar of Carrara marble was constructed in 1628. For a full description of the building, see *Dict. Hist.* p. 34. See also Scott's remarks on the building in 1672 (*Add. MS.* 18722, f. 9 v.).

⁴ The Capuchins were invited to Calais in 1618 and their church was erected in the following year (*Dict. Hist.* p. 35). By "indifferent" (a word of which Bowrey makes constant use in various obsolete meanings) "of medium size and quality" is apparently intended.

⁵ The Benedictine Nuns and the Filles de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, the former coming to Calais in 1641 and the latter at an earlier date (*op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ Calais originally possessed very fine markets, but these were destroyed by fire in 1658: hence the mean buildings which Bowrey saw (*op. cit.* p. 33).

⁷ The Dutch and Germans were the great brickmakers of Europe in the Middle Ages and the bricks of the United Provinces were esteemed

1	Pistool [<i>pistole</i>]	New is	[14 Livers]
4	Liard is	1	Sous
5	Liard is	1	Putar [<i>patard</i>]
20	Sous	1	Liver [<i>livre</i>]

	Li.	Sos.
1 Crown New is	3:	12
1 Crown Old is	3:	3
1 Pistool New is	14:	0
1 Pistool Old is	—	—

		Li:	Sos.
1 English Shillings is	14	Sous	0: 14
1 Guinea	is	16	Livers 16: 00

Burgundy Wine the Flask, which is about a Quart, 24 Sous—if with the Flask, 27 Sous.

Clarett the Grand Pott, which is about 2 Quarts, 24 Sous.

White Wine 16 Sous—Brandy 30 Sous.

Flounders and Thornback [ray, skate] Plenty and Cheap. Butter good.

Fouls Good, about 10 Sous a ps.

Paid to the Peer Master 36 Sous for Duties.

Tunage 50 Sous per Tun Demanded but not paid.

The rate for going in the Waggon Coach from Calice to Paris is 30 Livers each Passenger [about £2]¹.

throughout the world in the seventeenth century, the first brick buildings in America being constructed of bricks made in Holland.

Scott (*Add. MS.* 18722, f. 25 v) remarks of Flanders in 1672: "The houses built altogether of Browne Buick verie uniforme, about 2 Stories high for the most part." See also *Travels of Peter Mundy*, IV, 115 and note, for remarks on brick architecture.

¹ In his statements as to the money at Calais in 1698 Bowrey no doubt gives the exchange for the day he was there, and he talks of two kinds of money—the old and the new. In the new money the scale works out thus

4	liards	=	1 sou
20	sous	=	1 livre
3 $\frac{1}{2}$	livres	=	1 crown = 72 sous
3 $\frac{1}{4}$	crowns	=	1 pistole = 280 sous.

We further see that the *patard* was $\frac{1}{5}$ sou. The old money was of somewhat less value, as was usually the case everywhere. In the new money 14 *sous* = 1 English shilling, so the *sou* was $\frac{1}{4}$ penny. Also a guinea was 16 *livres* and the *pistole* was 14 *livres* = 18s. 4d.

On the above calculation Bowrey's prices can be worked out thus. Burgundy cost 1s. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a quart or 2s. 4d. with the flask. Claret, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. a

CALICE TO DUNKIRK.

Tuesday May the 31st 1698. At 1 this Morning by the Help of the Yauts Boat¹ we gott out of Calice Haven, the Tide of Flood runing Strong in and along Shoar by the Peer Heads. When out had a small brese at South West, and with the Flood stood North East to gett an ofeing to hold the Flood tide the Longer. Kept along in 7 and 8 fathom, which is about 2 or 2½ miles ofe shoare. Graveling [Gravelines] is a long Spire steeple near the Sea with 2 Windmills near the Town².

Dunkirk is a Larg high Square Steeple³. About 2 miles to the Westward of Dunkirk is a Sand spits ofe about [blank] miles⁴. When to the Eastward of that sand stood right for the

quart: white wine 1s 2d. a quart brandy 2s 2d a quart. fowls 8½d each. The port duties were half a French crown (36 sous) or 2s. 7d. The fare to Paris from Calais was about £2 per seat, which is a cheap fare for the distance by coach.

As to values given by Bowrey compared with ordinary rates in the seventeenth century—the *patard* (O.F. *patart*, *patard*), according to quotations given in the *O.E.D.*, was equivalent to a sou or ⅓d; the *écu* or crown, struck in 1641, was usually worth 3 livres or 60 sous, and the *pistole* or *louis d'or* of Louis XIII 16s 6d. to 18s. See the *O.E.D.* s.v. the several coins; Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, ed. 1835, I 141, 152, 209.

In 1687 Major Richard Ferner paid at Calais—"For landing 13 sous, Custom House 2 Livres" (*Journal*, p. 41).

¹ This small boat, or dinghy as it would now be called, must have been towed astern, for the *Duck* had no stowage space for even the smallest boat (G. S. Laird Clowes).

² The spire of the parish church at Gravelines "and near it a windmill" are still marks for making the harbour (*Sailing Directions*, p. 65). James Essex says of "St. Willebrord" at Gravelines (in 1773): "Though this is not a modern church it is built entirely of Brick, and has a Tower and a Spire pierced on all sides with windows" (*Journal*, ed. Fawcett, p. 6).

³ The detached Gothic brick tower of the church of St Eloi, 295 ft. high, built in the fifteenth century to serve as a landmark as well as a belfry. For the extent, history and description of this tower, see *Dict. Hist.* II, 705.

⁴ Bowrey seems to be referring to the Splinter sands, which were cut through by Louis XIV, c. 1681, to make a harbour for his men-of-war (see *post*, note 1 on p. 18). The name does not appear on any modern map. It is thus described by John Seller in his *Coasting Pilot*, c. 1671, p. 10: "The Splinter is a bank which runneth off from the wester Head of Dunkirk two leagues long, which falleth dry at low water. . . about half a league from the Westward Head, there runneth a Channel through the foresaid Bank, where small ships may pass through at high water; the

Peer Heads of Dunkirk¹, and at 7 the morning Anchored within 100 Yards of the Peer Heads in 5 fathom at near Low water and had not water into the Peers, being about 3 feet at Low water. At 10 the Morning, being about 1 Hour Flood, stood into the Peer and moored by the Peer about Half way up. It flows here about 26 foot up and down. The tide runs but Gently both Flood and Ebbe between the Peers.

Paid here Port Charges Half a French Crown² to the Peer Master³.

Here in the Harbour is not allowed either Fire or Candle on board on severe Penaltys⁴.

The Town well built, mostly of Flanders Brick 2 and 3 stories high, covered mostly with English Slate and very neatly laid⁵; all round next the Walls is Caserns⁶ for the Souldiers. The Streets broad and Paved with Flat stone; has One great Church⁷.

Two Nunerys of English Nuns, the One of the order of St Benedict, and containing about 60 Nuns, the Lady Abess

West end lyeth from Graveling N.N W. 4 miles." The "Splinter" is the shoal between the Hinder and the Snouw Banks, and is no longer distinguished from them by a separate name.

¹ Two long wooden jetties which formed the harbour.

² The port charges were thus the same as at Calais, *e.g.* 2s. 7d. See *ante*, p. 14 and note 1.

³ In Bowrey's day Dunkirk was the headquarters of the French admiralty. The Maître des Quais, "Peer Master," was an unsalaried official, whose income was derived from the levy of a certain sum per ton on each vessel entering the harbour. See *Dict. Hist.* II, 702.

⁴ The regulation prohibiting light and fire within the harbour of Dunkirk, no doubt enforced for the safety of the wooden ships and piers, was still in force as late as 1773 when James Essex visited the place. He remarks (*Journal*, ed. Fawcett, p. 7). "The sailors are not suffered to make any fires on board their ships in the harbour, but there are large fire-places made on the outside of the City wall next the harbour in which they make fires."

⁵ See *ante*, note 7 on p. 13, for Flanders brick. Essex, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* says: "The Streets are perfectly regular and the houses well built with bricks in a uniform manner."

⁶ Caserns, Fr. *caserne*, was the usual term for barracks up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. See the *O.E.D. s.v.* Casern. The barracks were situated on the East side of the town and were capable of housing 6000 men.

⁷ St Eloi, a fifteenth century church.

name, Lady Mary Caryll¹; the other of the Poor Clares and contains about 50 Nuns².

One Parish Church, which is Large, has 15 altars. The most remarkable [thing] in it is a Picture of St George Valued highly³; nothing Else Curious in it. Here is a Colledg of Jesuits⁴.

The Towne is about 5 miles about, strongly Walled, the Cittadell on the other side the Haven and is Extraordinary Strong. The Basin lyes at the upper part of the Haven and is as a Wett Dock⁵ with Double Gates only for the Kings Ship, and will Contain about 40 Sayle, with

¹ The foundation of the English Benedictine nuns dated from 1662 when they came from Ghent to Dunkirk Mary Caryll (the "Lady" is Bowrey's courtesy title) was the daughter of John Caryll of Lady Holt and West Grinstead, Sussex, by the Hon. Catherine, youngest daughter of William, second Baron Petre, and sister of John Caryll of Goodward and Lady Holt in Harting, Joint Secretary of State with the Earl of Middleton 1694-6, or Baron Caryll of Dunford [*i.e.* Duford] in Harting, Sussex, 29 January 1698-9. Her niece and namesake, Mary Caryll, joined her at Dunkirk and took the veil 25 March 1699. See *The Jacobite Peerage*, pp. 25-8; H. D. Gordon, *Hist. of Harting*, p. 130

² The "Poor Clares" was an earlier foundation than the Benedictines for they came to Dunkirk from Gravelines in 1665.

³ Bowrey is alluding to the triptych, now in the Museum at Dunkirk, the central panel of which represents the martyrdom of the saint, and the two others scenes in his life (see Bénézit, *Dict. crit... des peintres*, III. 524). The work was executed in 1577-8 by François Porbus (1540-80) for the confraternity of St George at Bruges, but that body having refused to pay the artist the sum agreed on, he sold it to the confraternity of St George at Dunkirk for 1500 livres, a sum much below its value. The story goes that the English so greatly desired this picture that they offered to cover it entirely with louis-d'or. The Magistrates of Dunkirk, however, refused to part with it. (See *Dict. Hist.* II, 705.)

Monconys (*Voyages*, II. 86) thus describes the picture and its surroundings, in 1663: "Dunkerque... la grande Eglise, dont la closture du chœur est de marbre d'une belle architecture; mais un tableau du Porbus, qui est dans une chapelle au costé droit du chœur, est une chose encore plus remarquable, c'est une decollation de S. George admirablement belle, et les deux grandes portes qui le ferment, ne le sont pas moins, qui sont peintes en grison gamaeu [*sic*] par le dehors, où le dessein n'en est pas moins beau"

The "15 altars" noted by Bowrey were then in side chapels. They were subsequently removed to the nave of the church.

⁴ The Jesuits established themselves in Dunkirk in 1612 and their church and college were completed in 1632.

⁵ A "Wett Dock," *i.e.* a basin in which the flood-tide could be impounded, by means of gates, so as to enable ships to remain always afloat and unaffected by the state of the tide outside (G. S. Laird Clowes).

storehouses, ropewalk &c. on each side¹. The Inhabitants mostly Flanderkins [Flemings] and speak both Dutch and French.

The Money Here is mostly accounted, by Permission, Money², One Stiver of which is $1\frac{1}{4}$ French Sous³.

Fish is Plenty, Meat but indifferent [tolerably] good, Mutton about 6 Sous a li⁴.

From hence to Fuern [Furnes] is a Passage Boat which [by canal] goes in [blank].

¹ The fortifications of Dunkirk as Bowrey saw them were the work of Louis XIV (1665-71), after the restoration of the town by the English to the French in 1662. For a detailed account see *Dict. Hist.*, s.v. Dunkerque, II, 701, Misson, II, 313-14.

In order to re-open the harbour, Louis XIV caused a sand bank to be cut through, and instead of the Mardyck Canal, which was constantly being filled up, he had a new canal cut by which war ships of 70 guns could come in and go out at all seasons. See *Dict. Hist.*, loc. cit.

For a good contemporary plan of the harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk see *A New and Exact Draught of Dunkirke as it is now Fortified by the French King with the Cittadell, Bassin, Port, Long Gallaries, Richebank, Wooden Forts &c.* London [1680] sold by Robert Moiden at the Atlas in Cornhill (B.M. Pressmark, Maps 15800 (11)). It shows "the new Bassin wherein lieth their men of Warr," the "Cazernes or Soldiers Quarters," the "Brick wall" and in the centre the church with, as Bowrey says (*ante*, p. 15), "a Larg high Square Steeple."

In *A New Map of the Town of Dunkirke, new Harbour and Castle in the Sea*, surveyed 23 May 1681 by Andrew Yarranton, "Author of the First and Second Part of England's Improvement by Sea and Land," B.M. Map 15795 (9), the printed remarks referring to the "Wett Dock" are worth quoting: "The French King hath Cut a New Trench thorow the Splinter Sands, one Mile in length, for a Harbour for his Men of War, and hath by Art, and Vast Expence, so far Advanc'd the Work, that it will at present, upon the head of the Tyde, Receive a Hundred Men of War, of Forty Five Guns apeece, and when finished, 150 Ships of Seventy Gunns apeece may enter at the Top of Tyde, and be safely secured from Storms, and all Enemies whatsoever. The French King is Raising a Castle in the Sea, at the Mouth of the New Harbour, on which will be planted 200 Pieces of Cannon, when finished, to secure his Men of War in this New Mole."

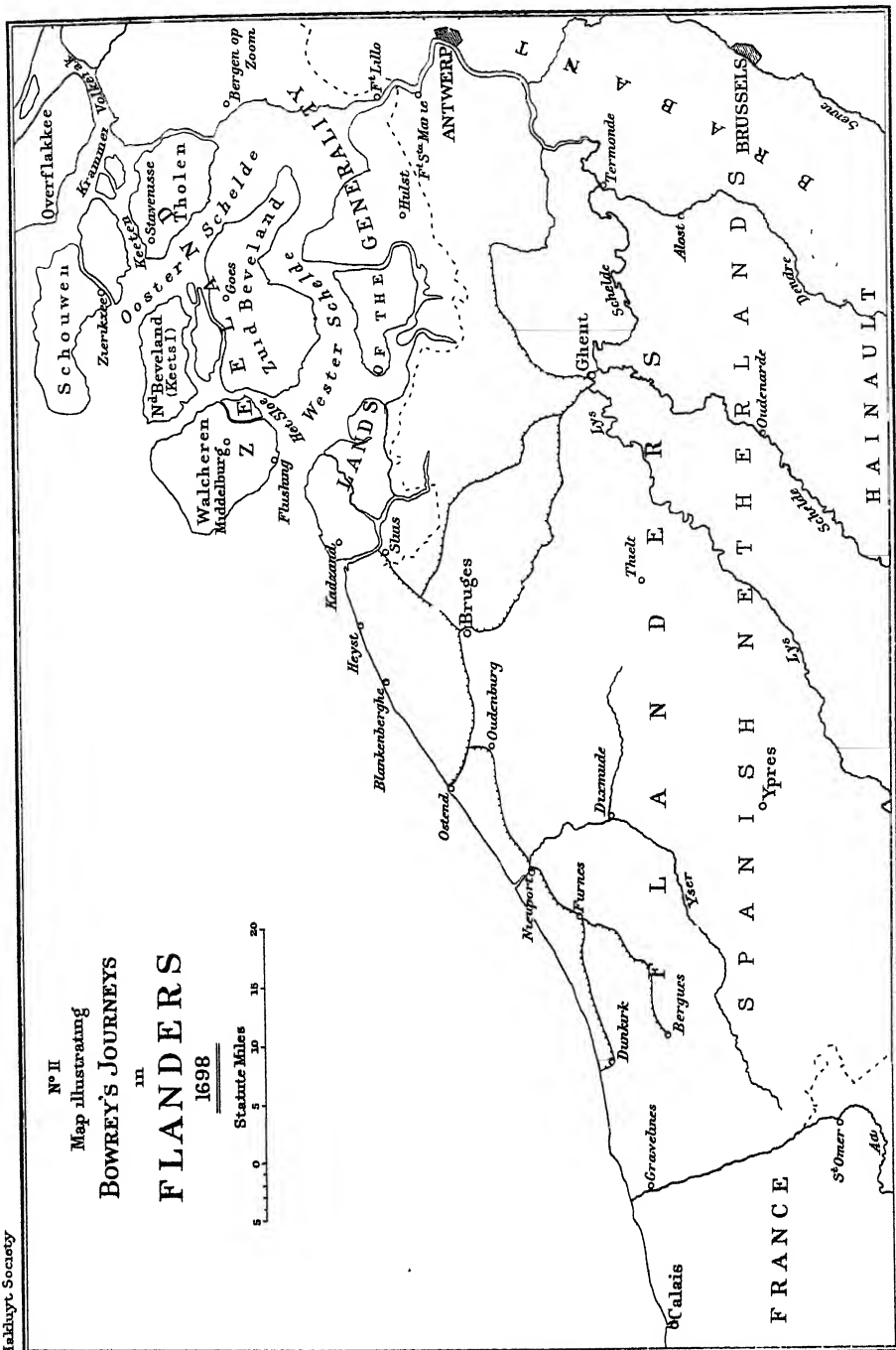
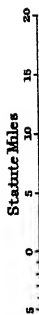
See also Misson, II, 314, *A Particular Desc. of...Dunkirk, &c.*, 1712, *Harl. Miscell.* II, 329-37.

² Bowrey means that though Dunkirk was then under the French King with a Governor General of its own, yet Flemish money was still current in the place.

³ This makes the *stuver* = $1\frac{1}{4}$ English penny, practically 1d, but later on it is $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

⁴ That is, 5½d. per lb. The statements show that French and Dutch money were both current at Dunkirk.

N^o II
Map illustrating
BOWREY'S JOURNEYS
in
FLANDERS
1698



DUNKIRK TO OSTEND.

Thursday June 2d 1698. About 8 the morn with the wind at South West a fine Gale and about $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe stood out of Dunkirk Peers, and when about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mille ofe the Peers we stood along Shoare to the Eastward, finding a very good Chanell about a mile ofe Shoare of 8 and 9 fathoms; see the sea break on the Brake which lyes about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles ofe Dunkirk Peer Head. Stood along shoar N.E b E. and E.N.E. and when about 8 miles to the Eastward of Dunkirk, then shoaled our Water, we then coming on the Inner end of the [blank], a Sand which begings here at the shoare and runs ofe to the Brake¹ sand, the Deepest part of the said [blank] sand lyes about 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Shoare, at which distance we run over it at a Low water and had 10 foot water, then had a Cleare Chanell about 2 miles distant from the Shoare, at which Distance passed by Newport, which is an Indifferent Large Towne, has 3 Steeples², lyes about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the Sea up a River [the Yser], at the Entrance of which is a Large Beacon³, which Beacon is left on the Larboard Side going in. All this Forenoon the winds at South to West Squally with Raine and Hail.

¹ Braek Bank, a continuation of the Snouw, 6 m. long in E. by S $\frac{1}{2}$ S. and W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. direction, beginning at about 2 m. from the shore. Hils Bank is a continuation of the Braek. The Zuydcoote Pass into Dunkirk Road between Hils and Traepegeer banks carries 17 to 24 ft. at low water. Dunkirk Banks, eleven in number, extend 15 miles from the coast between the meridians of Calais and the frontier of Belgium. Their names are: the Sandettié; the Out-Ruytingen; the In-Ruytingen; the Bergues; the Dyck, the In-Ratel; the Out-Ratel; the Haut-fond de Gravelines; the Breedt; the Smal; and the bank which bounds Dunkirk Road to the Northward, composed of several parts united together, named, Snouw, Braek, Hils and Traepegeer. The banks, six in number, lying to the N. of the Dunkirk Banks are: the Fairy; North Hinder; West Hinder; East Hinder; Bligh; and the Thornton Ridge (*North Sea Pilot*, Part IV, 1863, pp 49, 55, 65).

² The "3 Steeples" were probably the belfry of the fifteenth century Cloth Hall, the spire of the Gothic Church and the Donjon, a relic of the Templars' castle.

The "steeples" of Nieuport still serve as landmarks. In the *North Sea Pilot* of 1863, Part IV, p. 78, occurs this remark: "Nieuport has several steeples and windmills, which sometimes appear like a fleet of ships; but the great church steeple, which is square with a turret, shows conspicuously among them."

³ The lighthouse, built in 1284.

Fryday June 3d 1698. From offe Newport a faire Chanell along shoare, at about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile Distance to Ostend, depth $3\frac{1}{2}$ and 4 fathoms¹; the afternoon very little wind at North West. When came near Ostend, stood in by the Buoys, the outermost of which lyes about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile W b S from the Peer heads. There is three Buoys, the Inermost of which lyes just without. The going in is between the Two Outer Buoys².

Fryday June 3d 1698. The Peer heads at the outermost Buoy had 18 foot water (it being then ebb about 2 foot) that being the shoalest water going in³. When within the Peer [wee] stood up, keeping the Midle till above the Town of Ostend, which stands on the starboard side going in on a Neck of Land, then takeing the Soundings of the Eastern shoare, [we] stood up to the Sars⁴ which is the Gates or Entrance to the Canal of Bruges and lyes about 1 Miles to the S.E. of Ostend, Large ships going up to the Sars. At 6 the Even[ing] we arrived at said Sars⁵. Here is a small Fortification on the Starboard side going in⁶.

Here we left the Yaut and at 7 the morn wee Embarked in the Track boat⁷ for Bruges; the rate for Passengers in the said

¹ A channel, nearly a mile wide, with 5 and 6 fathoms in it, leads obliquely between the Nieuport and Ostend banks to Ostend Outer road. See *North Sea Pilot*, p. 79

² The buoys marked the entrance to the harbour between the sand-banks. These were swept away in 1863 when gates were placed to confine the water at the mouth of the harbour.

³ What Bowrey means seems to be that when he went into Ostend the tide had ebbed 2 ft. and yet there was 18 ft., and yet again it was the shoalest water he encountered.

⁴ Sars, Du. *sas*, here means lock-gates. Cf "the Sars or Water Gates" at Ghent in the *Diary* of 2 July, *infra* (G. S. Laird Clowes).

⁵ In 1672, when T. Scott was at Ostend, there were "at least 100 men or more at Worke on a Sasse or Sluce which will cost many 1000 li. sterling (being as great A peice of Water worke as ever was) to bring ships into A Cutt that extends to Bruges" (*Add. MS.* 18722, f. 13 v.).

⁶ Monconys, in 1666 (II, 88), considered Ostend to be well, but not regularly, fortified, and remarks that the best bastion was at the entrance of the harbour. See *infra* for Bowrey's further remarks on the defenceless state of the place.

⁷ Track boat, tow-boat, Du. *trekschuit*. See Mundy, IV, 62. In 1836 the *trekschuit* from Ostend for Bruges started at 6 o a m. and the fare was 1 franc. It took 3 hours to do the journey at the rate of 4 miles an hour (*Murray's Hand-Book... for Travellers through Holland*, etc. 1836). See also Montague's contemporary description (pp. 68-9) of a "Trecht-Schuyt, or Passage-Boat."

Boat from the Sars to Bruges is 8 Stivers¹. It is a Large Boat about 60 foot long with a Deck and very good Conveniency of Rooms under it; has a Mast and Sayle but is also drawn by Two Horses; was 3½ Hours from Sars of[f] Ostend to Bruges which I compute to be 10 English miles².

Bruges is about 5 Miles in Compass, encompassed with a Wall of Earth and a good Moat; The Houses well built of Brick, 2, 3 and 4 Stories high, severall Streets broad and well Paved with Flat stone, are kept cleane³, Many Churches, Convents and Nunnerys, of which wee see the Jesuits Church which is very finely adorned with Paintings⁴ &ca. and Indifferent Large. The Dominicans Church well adorned, especially the Pulpit which is Curious carved Work hanging seemingly by a Carved Rope⁵. [There] is Two English Nunnerys⁶ and Many of Flemings. The Markett Place is

¹ That is, 9½d. Bowrey's rates of exchange will be used in all these notes.

² Bowrey under-estimates the distance, which is nearly 14 miles. T. Scott (*op. cit.* f. 15), on the other hand, over-estimates it, as he says that Bruges by boat is "about 24 English Miles from Ostend."

³ The town, as Bowrey saw it, was long past the age of its greatness. On its development see Letts, *Bruges and its Past*, chapter 11.

⁴ When the Society of the Jesuits was suppressed in the Low Countries, in 1779, their church at Bruges was given to the parish of Ste Walburge, the original parish church having been demolished in that year. During the French Revolution the building was devoted to secular purposes. See Duclos, *Bruges*, p. 555, where the pictures still in the church are enumerated. See also James Essex (*Journal*, ed. Fawcett, 1773, p. 17) who remarked "a good picture at the high Altar representing Jesus Christ receiving his Mother into heaven."

I am indebted for the above note and the greater part of those which follow on Bruges to the kindness of Mr Malcolm Letts, F.R.Hist S.

⁵ The Church and Convent of the Frères Prêcheurs, or Dominicans, in the Rue Longue, dating from the fourteenth century, were destroyed in 1793, but the dormitories were incorporated into the present Caserne des Gendarmes. The convent buildings can be seen on Marc Gheeraert's great plan of 1562, reproduced in Duclos, *Bruges*, p. 315. See also *ibid.* p. 563.

The author of *Flanders delineated* (1745), p. 28, remarks: "The Pulpit in the Dominican Church [at Bruges] is reckon'd an admirable Piece of Workmanship, the Wood that supports the Top of it being cut in Imitation of Ropes."

James Essex, however, who visited the Dominicans' church in 1773, has no mention of the pulpit.

⁶ T. Scott visited, in 1672, "The English Cloister of Nunns of the Order of St Francis, The Lady whereof entertaining us with Wyne, Bisketts and Discourse," but "not admitted to enter further then the gates, Wee saw not any thing of Curiosity" (*Add. MS.* 18722, f. 24). James Essex

Large¹. The Towne House finely adorr ed². [There] Is a very Large and fine Warehouse Of the Kings in which all English Cloath and other Wollen goods is kept till the Duties paid³. Very Many Shops of all Trades, large, well Stocked with goods and kept very cleane and neat. A larg Meat Markett and indifferent Well Stored with Beef, Veal and Mutton⁴. Mutton at 6 Stivers a li⁵. The Wine generally Drunk here is Rhenish at 16 Stivers the half Pott which is about a Quart or more⁶.

Bruges to Gandt [Ghent] by the Boat is 8 hours⁷.

Bruges to Newport [Nieuport] by Boat is 7 hours.

IN BRUGES.

	Guilders	Stivers
4 Orkenes [Du. <i>oortki</i>]	0	1
20 Stivers [Du. <i>stuiver</i>]	1	0
1 Pattacoon [Sp. <i>patacon</i>] or Spanish Crown	2	8
1 French Crown the Old and New alike	2	8
1 Schilling [Du. <i>schelling</i>]	0	6
1 half Schilling	0	3

mentions two English nunneries in 1773, the Nunnery of English Penitents and the Nunnery of St Augustine (*Journal*, pp. 16, 17) The English Sisters of St Francis were established in the ruins of the Princenhof, the old palace of the Dukes of Burgundy from 1662 until their return to England in 1794. The Augustine Sisters still inhabit the Couvent des Dames Anglaises in the Rue des Carmes The present church dates from 1736-9. See Duclos, *Bruges*, pp. 515, 535.

¹ The Grand' Place, flanked on the S. by the Belfry and the Halles. For its appearance at this time see plate in Letts, *Bruges and its Past*, p. 18.

² The Hôtel de Ville in the Burg, originally the Guest House, rebuilt 1376-87. See Letts, *Bruges and its Past*, p. 23, with illustration.

³ This must be the Waterhalle, which formerly occupied the E. side of the Grand' Place, a magnificent building demolished in 1787 (Letts, *Bruges and its Past*, p. 20).

⁴ The meat market was situated on the W. side of the present Place Simon Stévin in the Rue des Pierres, until 1819. It was known as the Westveleschhuis. See Duclos, *Bruges*, p. 494.

⁵ That is, 7½d. a lb.

⁶ About 1s. 7d. a qt.

⁷ Compare *Travels through Flanders*, etc (1725), p. 91: "From Ghent to Bruges the Passage is by Boat along the new Canal, cut with great Expence by the Marquis Spinola when he was Governor of the Netherlands." At the time of Bowrey's visit Bruges formed part of the Spanish Netherlands, which at this date were administered by Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria.

	Guilders	Stivers
1 Ducatton [F. <i>ducaton</i>]	3	0
1 Guinea	11	2
1 Shilling English	0	10
1 French Pistoll [F. <i>pistole</i>] the Old and New alike ¹	9	0

Saturday June 4th 1698. At 8 this Morning we departed with the Track Skute and at half an hour past 11 the Forenoon arrived at the Sars [*sas*, lock-gates] of Ostend. It flows in Ostend about 17 foot up and Downe. The Tide runs in-different [fairly] Strong between the Peers².

Sunday June 5th 1698³. At 3 this afternoone and a low water we went down with the Yaut to Ostend.

¹ The money here is Dutch (or Flemish) and French. Compare the account of Flemish money given by Thomas Scott in 1672 (*Add. MS* 18722, f. 37 v.-38): "Flanders: the least piece of money used in that Countreie is an Orchin, Five of them being an English penny and Four of them a Dutch stiver. A stiver is One Penny but 10 make an English Shilling and 6 a Flemish Skilling. A Shilling is 6 Stivers, 20 of which make a Dutch pound. They have a certaine Peice called a Duckatoone, which is 10 Skilling and is worth 5s. 6d English and alsoe a Patacoone which is worth 4s. 6d English, But noate that it goes there for more or less according to the Exchange."

Peter Mundy, Vol. iv, p 79, also gives a careful account of the Dutch money, and its English equivalent in his day (1640), and it is pointed out in annotating his remarks (p 80, n. 1) that he shows that three scales were in use, owing to changes in the political position of the country. Bowrey in his account also alludes to scales I and II of Peter Mundy thus:

Scale I.

4 oortk1	= 1 stuiver
20 stivers	= 1 guilder (gulden)
3 gulden	= 1 dukaton

Scale II.

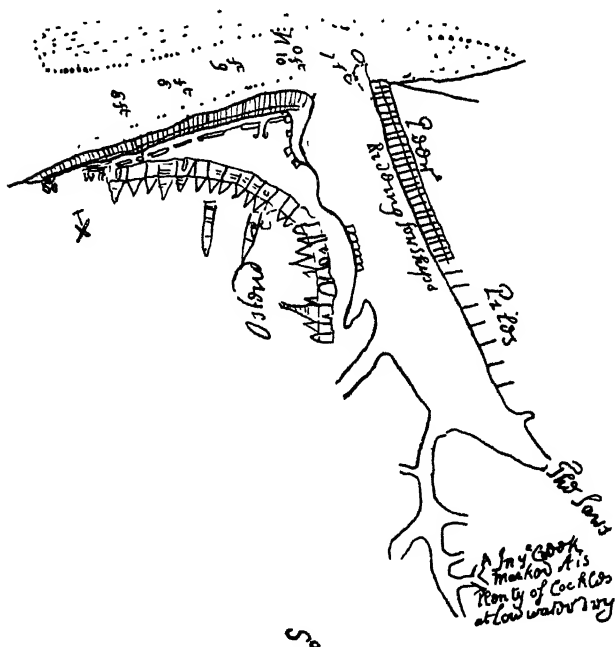
3 stuivers	= ½ schelling [dubbelke]
6 stivers	= 1 schelling

As regards English equivalents Mundy made the *stuver* = one penny English. Bowrey, with whom Thomas Scott above quoted substantially agrees, makes it worth more and makes 10 *stuivers* = one shilling English, and 222 *stuivers* = one guinea (11 *gulden* 2 *stuivers*). Thus he incidentally shows that the guinea in gold had a slight appreciation. The crown and *pistole* as foreign money had a special valuation in exchange. All crowns, Spanish and French, old and new, had one value, rather less than a *dukaton* (5s. 4d.) and the Pistoles, old and new, were valued alike at 18s. 4d.

² See below (p. 24), Bowrey's sketch of the harbour of Ostend. This shows the N. and S points, the "peer," the "riding for ships," the "piles," and "the Sars." It has also an interesting note: "A. In the Creek marked A is plenty of cockles at low water dry"

³ Bowrey has here made a mistake as to dates. The entry refers to the events of the afternoon of "June 4th."

The Town is Moted round next the Land which is only a Peninsula with a Earthwall, in Compass about 1 English Mile. The Towne built of Brick 1 and 2 Stories; Ordinary buildings, the streets indifferent [moderately] broad; all the Walls of the Town, the Pallisados and Peers all goes to Decay¹.



OSTEND TO FLUSHING.

Sunday June 5th 1698. At 6 this morn we were coming out of the Harbour but [were] stoped till we had paid the Following Duties.

	Guilders	Stivers
To the Custom house	[blank]	
To the Pilot and Light house and Peerage ²	[blank]	
To [blank]: To [blank]	[blank]	

¹ Ostend had not recovered from the siege of 1601-4, during which the States General were assisted by the English and French against Spain. Most of the town was in ruins before it surrendered to General Ambrogio Spinola of Genoa

² Peerage, an obsolete term for toll or fee paid for the privilege of using a pier or wharf

Soe at 7 a clock and about $\frac{3}{4}$ Flood stood out of the Harbour with a small Gale of Wind at W.S.W. without; stood along Shoar N.E. b E. and E.N.E. at about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile Distance from the Shoar in a fair Chanell, depth 5 and $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathom at a high water, it flowing here about 16 or 17 foot.

About 7 Miles from Ostend is Blankenburg [Blankenberghe] Sconce¹, being a Small Sconce about the bigness of a House and stand[s] on a Sand Hill close to the Sea Side. Blankenburg Steeple is Flat and stands about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile S.E. from the said Sconce.

A little to the Eastward of the Sconce see Many Boats on the Shoar, and from of[f] the Sconce see Heist [Heyst] steeple, being a high Spire, and then the Eastermost land in Sight, makeing a Point, and is the West Point of Sluce [Sluis]. As we neared the said Point and came abreast of Heist spire steeple [*sic*], found the Land Trench in to Sluce.

We continued our Cours E.N.E. in $4\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile ofe the Shoar, when Heist Steple bore S.S.E. and then had the opening of Sluce fairly Open, being a broad Opening, a Windmill Just to the Eastward of the said Opening; and then also see the Land on Flushing bearing N.E $\frac{1}{2}$ N. makeing white sand Hills. When had the Opening to Sluce bearing S.E., then had the Castle [of Sluis] fairly open, and then distance about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles to said Fort, and from the West Point of the Going into Sluce 1 Mile, depth $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms. When the [opening to] Sluce bore S.E b S. then had a Buoy which lyes on the Point of sand, which streches From the East Point going into Sluce, and Sluce Castle² both in One, distant from the buoy about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, depth 6 fathoms. The said Buoy lyes about $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Mile from both Points going into Sluce. When abreast of Sluce see Flushing [with] a spire [and] steeple and bearing E b No., Midleburgh steeple

¹ Sconce, Du *schans*, a small fort or earthwork, especially one built to defend a ford, pass, etc. In a map of the "Environs de Bruges, 1707 (B.M. Press Mark, Maps, 28 e. 20), "Blanckenbergh Fort ruiné" is shown.

² Sluis (or L'Ecluse), 13 miles from Bruges and the port of Bruges, formerly a town of considerable note on the Zwyn, is now only connected with the sea by a canal. At the time of Bowrey's visit the place was strongly fortified. See *Travels through Flanders*, etc., 1725, p. 94.

E.N.E.¹ Weestood right away with Flushing. Sluce seems to be a Fortification about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile in Length; little other buildings².

Depened our water to 8 and 9 fathoms. After about 2 Miles run began to Shoald gradually to 4 fathoms nearing the Shoar of Cadsant [Kadzand], when the Spire, Church and the Windmill of Cadsant bore S.E b E. Then stood E b S right with the E Point of Cadsant, depth 4-4 $\frac{1}{2}$; soe takeing the Soundings of Cadsant at about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile distance from the Shoare, stood away towards Flushing, having a faire Deep Chanell. Found the Tide of Ebb sett out very Strong all this forenoon, the Wind from the W S W to N W, fine easy Gales and fair wether, smooth water.

[FLUSHING TO ROTTERDAM.]

Munday June 6: 1698. About 1 this afternoon came abreast of Flushing, which is a Walled Town and I Judge about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles in Compass³; has One or Two Inletts for Great Ships into the Midle of the Town⁴: seems to be indifferant well built. See a Great Ship on the Stocks and about 12 Men of War⁵, and One East India Ship now ready to Sail, besides severall other Merchants Ships.

¹ Flushing "spire" and "steeple" is probably that of the fourteenth century church of St James

By Middelburg "steeple" Bowrey may mean that of the Hôtel de Ville which occupied the site of the Abbey of St Jean. One of the many spires and towers of Middelburg, the capital of the Province of Zeeland, was still useful as a sea-mark in 1863. See *Le Guide de Flandre et de Hollande*, 1779, p 21; *North Sea Pilot*, Part IV, p 87.

² See above, note 1.

³ The fortifications of Flushing were begun under Philip II of Spain by Pacheco, the chief engineer of the Duke of Alva. The town had been the scene of many struggles between Spaniards and English before Bowrey's time.

⁴ Compare the following remarks on the accommodation for shipping at Flushing:

1623 "Vulushinge... a wonderfull spatious and greate haven; ships lye from the heade to the foote of this Towne, the haven having passage to the very end of it" (*Add MS.* 29492, f. 7)

1779. "Flessingue... On entre dans la Ville par deux canaux qui la traversent, et où les vaisseaux peuvent aborder tout chargés" (*Le Guide de Flandre et de Hollande*, p 20).

⁵ Marmaduke Rawdon of York remarks (*Camden Soc.* vol. LXXXV, p 110). "This towne of Flushing is famous or infamous for sea-thieves, I meane men of warr."

A little above this Place agreed with a Master of a Hoigh¹ bound to Rotterdam for a Man to Pilott us Thro The Inland Chanells to Rotterdam to give him 7 Guilders [10s. 10d.]. Soe Proceeded as by my Map will appear². See Terveer [Veere] at about 2 miles Distance which seems to be a Pretty small Town And a Ship lying before it. Tergoes [Goes] a small Towne. The Flood setts thro between the Ilands Tergoes and Catts [Kats, Keets] to Cattenkik [Keeten Channel]; the Ebb contrary at Tergoes³. Paid 6 Stivers [7d.] Beaconage⁴.

Zirickzee [Zierikzee] seems to be a Town about 1 mile in Compass with Good Buildings, we not coming near it⁵. It is a Great Fishery Town. The Flood that comes up by Zirickzee parts at the Buoy of Staveness. When to the Eastward of the said Buoy the flood setts to the Eastward. If you are to the North or West of the said Buoy, the flood setts to the South. This Night and all the Forenoon very little Airs of Wind and Calme. At Noon was ofe Staveness⁶. It flows in these Parts about 10 foot up and downe.

Tuesday June 7th 1698. At 2 this afternoon the water being fallen and being a flat from side to side about [blank] Mile

¹ Hoy. The *OED* derives the term from *M. Du. hoei*, var. of *hoede* mod. *Du. heude, heu*. The hoy is defined by Falconer (*Universal Dict. of the Marine*, 1769) as a "small vessel, chiefly used in coasting, or carrying goods to or from a ship, in a road or bay, where the ordinary lighters cannot be managed with safety or convenience. In Holland the hoy has two masts; in England it has but one" (G. S. Laird Clowes).

² This map has, unfortunately, not survived, which is a great pity, as Bowrey's remarks are not easily followed.

³ According to Bowrey's notes, he went a little way up the Western Schelde from Flushing, and agreed with the master of a hoy to take him to Rotterdam by the inland channels. He started along Het Sloe Channel between Walcheren and Beveland, seeing Veere on his left, and then he went up the Zand Kieek, between Beveland and Kats (Keeten) to the Ooster Schelde, seeing Goes to his right. He then crossed the Ooster Schelde and reached Stavenisse at the entrance of de Keeten channel between Tholen and Duveland, seeing Zierikzee in the distance to the left.

⁴ Beaconage, an obsolete term for the toll paid for the maintenance of beacons.

⁵ Zierikzee, in Zeeland, capital of the island of Schouwen. De Blainville, who remarks on "The vast Herring-fishing in Holland" (I, 17), says that "The People of Zirickzee" were the first who went to fish herrings in the year 1165. By 1739 the town had declined in trade owing to the silting up of its port.

⁶ Stavenisse, on the N.W. of Tholen Island.

above Viana¹, We anchored a little to the Eastward of Viana. About 7 this Even, being about $\frac{1}{3}$ Flood wee weighed, and with the wind at N N E we turned over the said Flat, there being a Narrow Channell; about 2 Miles to the N E of the said Flat came up with [blank] of Zeland². Here was examined if had any Goods, was not Stopped. Here also paid Six Stivers [7*d.*] Beaconage to Zeland. Here passes abundance of Vessells. From hence to Oost Duyveland [Duiveland] is about [blank]. Here we come into the [blank] River [de Krammer] which is here about 4 Miles broad.

From hence stood up the said River [Volkerak] and with the Tide of Flood, and a brisk gale at N N E, in about 3 Hours we gott up with Williamstadt [Willemstad]. This is a small Town on the Starboard Side going up³. The River Here [Hollandsch Diep] is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ Miles broad and is Fresh water. Williamstadt is the First Firm land.

From Williamstadt to [Willemsdorp] is about [blank] Miles. This is on the Larboard side. Going up is only a few small Houses, against which lyes 5 or 6 ships. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles above [Willemsdorp] and on the same side goes in a Narrow River Called the Kill [Dordtsche Kil]. This is about 100 Yards wide. About [blank] Miles up the Kill is a Custom House where we were Called to, and if had Goods must have paid 10 Stivers [12*d.*].

From hence to Dort [Dordrecht] is about 5 Miles. Just below Dort the Kill goes into the [Oude Maas] which goes down to the [Nieuw Maas]. The Flood setts up the Kill and to the East end of Dort, where meeting with the [Oude] Maes River which goes down to Rotterdam⁴. Dort is about

¹ Vianen on de Keeten Channel, whence there is a ferry to Stavenisse. Vianen is a common name in Holland for a town or village.

² The word omitted by Bowrey seems to be "boundary" or "frontier" of the Province of Zeeland, where there was a custom house.

³ Willemstad on Hollandsch-Diep, built by William I, Prince of Orange, in 1583, a small well-fortified town.

⁴ Bowrey next followed the route of the modern steamers from Antwerp to Rotterdam, which enter de Keeten channel at Stavenisse and stop at Vianen on Duiveland, through the narrow Northern end of the channel between St Philipsland and Duiveland, into the broad de Krammer. Passing then up that channel and the narrow Volkerak, they reach Willemstad to the right on the mainland. Willemstad lies on the Hol-

$\frac{2}{3}$ of a Mile in Length; seems to be a Well built Town¹. There is above 50 Windmills about the Town for Sawing Timber². The River [Merwede] at Dort is about 150 Yards broad. The [Oude] Maes at Dort is about 300 Yards broad. The Tide of Flood setts up the Maes above Dort.

Wednesday June 8th 1698. From Dort with the tide of Ebb in about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hours we gott to Rotterdam, being at 5 this Evening. The Maes is here about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile broad. The Town is about 3 Miles in Compass, Surrounded with a [blank] Wall and a Mote. Chanells through most of the Streets for Ships and Vessells to lye at the Keys. A Fair Key almost the whole Length of Town along the Maes on which is a Well new built East India House, with severall Merchants Houses very fine³. The Houses 2, 3 and 4 Stories High of Brick, all hanging ofe to the street⁴. The Streets Paved with Flat stone. The North West part of the Towne is called the Scotch [blank] and is Inhabited mostly by Scotch⁵. Here is One English Church, One Scotch Church, One Great Dutch Church and

landsch-Diep. The route then lies up the Hollandsch-Diep to Willemsdorp, and thence up the very narrow Dordtsche Kil to Dordrecht. Beyond Dordrecht Bowrey is not clear, but his time table shows that, like the modern steamers, his boat went by the Oude Maas and the Merwede for a short distance to de Noord channel, and thence *via* the Maas to Rotterdam.

¹ De Blainville, however, writing a few years later (c. 1706), was of a different opinion. He says (I, 21). "Dort... This Town is strong by its natural Situation, tho' it be only surrounded with a single Wall flanked with some old ruinous Bastions, and a deep Ditch full of Water."

² Compare Evelyn (ed. Bray), I, 27. "Dort .furnished with all German commodities and especially Rhenish wines and timber" Dordrecht, usually called Dordt or Dort by the Dutch, has still a considerable timber trade.

³ For other seventeenth century descriptions of Rotterdam see de Longueville (1646), *Harl. MS.* 4471, f. 36; Montague (1695), *Delights of Holland*, p. 13. The author of *Travels through Flanders*, etc. (p. 12) remarks on the maritime trade of Rotterdam and says that in the year 1674 "there departed out of Rotterdam 300 Sail of English, Scotch and Irish ships at once."

⁴ T. Penson, who was in Rotterdam in 1687, also remarks on the leaning houses (*Harl. MS.* 3516, under date 6 July): "The houses seemed to threaten to fall on our heads; they are built so much leaning forward."

⁵ I have found no other mention of a Scotch quarter in Rotterdam. "Schotse Kerk" is marked in the North of the town in a plan of Rotterdam of 1694 (B.M. Press Mark, Maps, 18. d. 1), but there is no indication of any special dwelling place for the community.

[? five] Others¹, a Admiralty Office, a Yard for building Ships for the States, a Magazine &ca.

Here is the Statue of Erasmus in Brass curiously done. He was born here². Here is [also] 2 or 3 Places where is Cutt Paper work very finely done. The best is at a Gentlemans, who has done it himselfe for his Diversion; has about 10 Peeces in Frames and Glasses, as Houses, Gardens, Lanskip, Sea Peeces, Flowers and Point Work. The Point Work not to be Distinguished by the Eye from real. The Peeces are not above 2½ foot long and some of them valued at about 1000 Guilders [£100] apiece. The Gentleman sells none, nor makes no gain by shewing them³.

Paid here 2 Stivers [*c.* 2½*d.*] for lifting the Bridg to goe into Wine Haven⁴. Paid the Same to come out, and here we paid

¹ Brereton, p. 6, remarks that the English Church was "formerly intended for a playhouse" Montague, *op cit.* p. 16, says that the English, Scotch and French had each a church at Rotterdam; and the author of *Travels through Flanders*, etc. notes (p. 12): "There are in this City [Rotterdam] two considerable Churches, an English and a Scotch." By the "Great Dutch Church" Bowrey means the Groote Kerk of St Lawrence, the choir of which dates from 1487

In 1737 Rotterdam had eight churches, four for the Dutch, one for the French, two for the English and one for the Scotch. See *Grand Dict. Geog.* VII, 211

² All the seventeenth-century travellers describe the bronze statue of Erasmus (Gerrit Gerritz) in the Groote Markt designed by Hendrik de Keyser (1565-1621) and erected in 1622. See Mundy, IV, 62; Montague, p. 13, De Blainville, I, 4-5; *Add. MS.* 29492, f. 8; *Add. MS.* 20705, f. 35; M. Rawdon of York, p. 107.

³ The "Cutt Paper work" also attracted the attention of Misson and Chuswell in 1687 and 1696.

"We saw the curious Works in Paper of the Sieur Van Vliet, as Ships, Palaces, and whole Landscips in a sort of Basso relievo, all as they say done and made out with the point of a Pen-Knife" (Misson, I, 6).

"Rotterdam . . . Wee staid to take a view of the Citty and the Curiousities thereof, as . . . Paper cutt and putt into Frames in the Nature of Pictures, representing Ships, Flowers, &ca. a most exquisite Piece of Work, and the more to be admired, because nothing of that Nature was ever made before, this being the singular fancy of a Gentleman of very good estate (but a Melancholy person), so that great Summs have been offered to purchase them—it would not be accepted" (*Add. MS.* 10623 under date 20 March 1696).

As late as 1819 the author of *Tours in Holland* (p. 57) saw at The Hague in the Musée "a variety of pretty works in paper, such as models of churches, landscapes, flowers, &ca." and he adds that "the art of making them is practised in Middelburg"

⁴ Wynhaven, one of the numerous canals intersecting the older portion of the city of Rotterdam. It is shown in an old plan of 1694 with the bridge mentioned by Bowrey and is there called "d'Wyn Haven."

no other Port Charges. It flows here about 5 foot up and downe.

	Guilder	St:
20s English Silver is	11	3
French Pistoll	9	9
1 Guinea	11	19 ¹

[ROTTERDAM TO AMSTERDAM]

Thursday June 9th 1698. At 7 this morning we having hired a covered Wagon for 7 Guilders [10s. 10d.] to Carry us to Tergau [Ter-Gouw, Gouda], clear of all Tolls by the way, in which we went 7 Persons and severall Boxes &ca. Found the Country along very Low, all for Hay and Graseing, kept above water only by the Canalls which Divides every Feild and drains the Grounds; the Farm Houses kept Extraordinary well in repair; a Small boat to every House. We Travelled all the way on a Bank but Just wide enough for 2 Wagons. In 3 Hours arrived at Tergau, being then 10 aclock the morning. I judge from Rotterdam to Tergau is 12 [English] Miles².

Tergau is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile in Length; severall Streets; indifferent [tolerably] well built of Brick; Canalls thro the Towne; has a Handsom Stadt house in a large open Place³; has a very Large Church in which about 26 Large Windows, all of Glass finely Painted and about 13 Lesser windows of the Same. The Window at the East end has bin offered for it 20000 Guilders [$\text{£}2000$]⁴.

¹ At Rotterdam Bowrey found the exchange with England and France more in his favour than at Bruges. For 20 English shillings in silver the exchange was in his favour over 5 per cent For the guinea in gold it was 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, while the French *pistole* was 4 per cent. more valuable than at Bruges.

² A correct guess. The distance is actually 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

³ The late Gothic Stadhuys at Gouda, or Ter Gouw, with an outside Renaissance staircase, stands in the middle of the market-place.

⁴ The Groote Kerk (St John) founded 1485 and rebuilt 1552. There are 31 large and 13 smaller stained glass windows. The most notable were executed by Wouter and Dirk Crabeth in 1565-77. Person who visited the church a few years earlier (1690), *Harl MS.* 3516, f 32, writes as follows: "Having heard much of St Johns Church at Goude or Tergoude which was eminent for painted Glass, I tooke that in my way, and being there arrived (with silver key caused the church doors to be opened) and tooke a view thereof, which I found to be very fine. Therein is many Sacred Stories with other Ornaments of Figures, Armes and inscriptions." He adds a list of the subjects of thirteen of the painted windows with the names of the donors.

About 2 Miles above Rotterdam goes in a Small River which comes up to and Thro the Town of Tergau¹, up which comes the Hoighs [hoys] &ca., and can goe this way Thro to Amsterdam; it is not above 50 Yards wide in some Places and not 6 foot water. The Tide of Flood rises at Tergau about 4 foot.

Thursday June 9th 1698. We embarked on the Track Skute for Amsterdam which went ofe precisely at 11 aclock the forenoone, and soe every day, the rate in which for each person is 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ stivers [*c.* 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.]. We hired the After Cabin, for the Priviledg of which to be by our Selves gave 48 Stivers [4s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.].

Fryday June 10th 1698. At 4 afternoone stoped at a House for $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour to Eat a bit and Drink². At 7 came thro a Small Town called Overkirk, is 5 Miles from Amsterdam³. At 4 Miles Distance from Amsterdam is a stone Pillar which is the Mark for a Dutch Mile from the Citty, and there is such a One at a Dutch Mile Distance from the Citty on every Road Leading to it⁴. At $\frac{1}{2}$ an houre after 8 the Even, arrived about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile withoutt the Citty. Here left the Boat. Put our goods on a Barrow and went our Selves in a Coach or rather covered Sled, having no Wheels, Drawn by One Horse, The Driver walking by. Went to the White Hart, an English Ordinary behind the Old Church⁵. The Price of Eating at this House is 15 Stivers [1s. 6d.] each person, for which you

¹ The Kromme Gouw which runs into the Gouw, at the junction of which with the Yssel, Gouda is situated.

² When Mundy went by *trekschuit* from Rotterdam to Amsterdam in 1640 (*Travels*, iv, 64) he reckoned the journey to be 15 hours, whereas Bowrey did the distance in 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours. But Mundy does not appear to have gone past Gouda as he says he saw no town of any note. In *Travels through Flanders*, etc 1725, p 76, the distance is reckoned as 36 English miles, the time 12 hours and the cost about half-a-crown English.

³ Ouderkerk on the Amstel. Montague, *Delights of Holland*, 1696, calls it (p. 194) "a small village which gives title to a Lord or Favourite, and [he is] possess'd of the Revenues hereof."

⁴ No other traveller whose account of Amsterdam I have consulted mentions these Dutch milestones.

⁵ The Oude Kerk stands at the back of the Warmoes-Straat into which Bowrey moved the next day. I have found no trace of his "White Hart" inn. It may have taken the place of an "English house having the signe of the Kings head," which T. Dawes found in the same neighbourhood, "by the [Old] Exchange" in 1623 (*Add. MS* 29492, f. 11).

have a good Diner of severall Dishes with Table beer. Good Clarett, if called for, at 9 Stivers for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Pint [c. $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ a pint]¹.

Saturday June 11th 1698. This afternoon removed to the [Dutch Bible] in the Street called the Warmots Stradt² [Warmoes-Straat]. See the Citty Garden which is on the East end of the Citty, is Indifferent [fairly] large, with Many sorts of Domestick and Foreign Plants, &ca.; Encompassed With Pails [palings]³. See the New Hospitall for Old Weomen, called the Beshes House⁴, which I beleive contains about 200 persons, 4 lying in a small room, with Gardens adjoining. Then see the Two Jews Synagogues, One whereof I Judge to be 150 foot Square, a Spacious brick building with Schools adjoining. This is for the Spanish and Portugall Jews and [who] are esteemed the Men of most Substance. The other Synagogue is Smaller and is for the German and Polish Jews⁵.

¹ The price of wine had not varied much since 1623 when T. Dawes was at Rotterdam and Amsterdam. He says (*op. cit* f. 12)

"a pint of Whines worth stivers	7
of Rhenish	10
of sack	10."

² The name of the inn is given in Bowrey's Account Book See Appendix I (6)

³ The Hortus Medicus, later called the Hortus Botanicus, where, according to the *Wegwyzer door Amsterdam*, 1726 (p. 324), were to be seen "all kinds of native and foreign plants." It was situated in the Plantadje, a garden suburb, minus houses, reserved for the citizens of Amsterdam, and is probably identical with the "famous Garden reported to exceed that at Leyden" and "really every way finer" described by the writer of *Add. MS.* 20705, f. 32. The present Botanic Gardens occupy the site of the Hortus Medicus and the Zoological Gardens are to the east of it, on another portion of the Plantadje. See Bredius, *Amsterdam*, I (*Groei en Bloei der Stad*), 193

⁴ Bowrey seems to have confused the term *Wees-Huis* (Orphanage) with *Weduwen-Hof* (Widows' Home). Penson in 1690 (*Harl MS.* 3516, f. 23-4) speaks of this last as "The Hospitall for poor Widdows or Women unmarried, very pleasant, with fyne Gardens in the middle. In each chamber is two beds and in each bed lies two Widdows, and in the midst of the Chamber hangs a Lamp which burns all night, that if any of them happen to be taken ill in the night they have a light ready, and so many are placed in each chamber that one may be helpful to the other."

⁵ Compare Misson, I, 25: "The Portugeeze Jews here [Amsterdam] are extraordinary Rich, and their Synagogue is a stately Building, whereas that of the High-Dutch is but mean and contemptible. It is a square building erected An. 1671."

Near here is the Hospitall for Mad People¹. These stands near the East part of the Citty, and in this Quarter lives all the Jews, they not being permitted to live in any other part of the Citty².

See the Burse or Exchange, to which you must ascend steps. It is about $\frac{1}{3}$ Longer and $\frac{1}{3}$ narrower then the Exchange of London, with Piazzas³ within, and on the Pillars the Name of the Country Merchants⁴ which stands there, with other needfull Inscriptions; is paved with Brick. Up stairs over the Piazzas is Shops but ordinarily Stocked with Toys⁵; has nothing without side⁶.

See Mr. Granada, a Jews house which has fine painting on the Ceiling and was Courteously received by him.

Sunday June 12th 1698. See the Stadt house which is a Building on the outside of white stone, the Frontis-Peice

Penson (1690), *Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 22, speaks of "the Jews whose Temple or Synagogue [at Amsterdam] is a Magnifique building." See also *Travels through Flanders*, 1725, p. 20.

Mr G. S. Laird Clowes reminds me that the Sephardim or Iberian Jews are still distinct in their religious observances from the Ashkenazim or German and Polish Jews.

¹ See Mundy, iv, 73 and note, for the *Dolhuis* (Madhouse) at Amsterdam. The writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213 printed in 1648 as *Three Moneths Observations of the Low Countries*, etc., remarks, f. 88: "The defects of Nature they [the Hollanders] favour with Charity. Even their Bedlam is a place so curiously kept that a Lord might lye in it." See also Montague, pp. 171-2; Penson, *Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 24; Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 101.

² "Jews in abundance, who have many Streets here" (Montague, p. 146) The Jewish quarter is still almost exclusively occupied by Jews of the poor class

³ The term *piazza*, properly a public square or market-place, is here erroneously applied to a covered gallery or walk

⁴ By "country merchants" Bowrey means native Dutch merchants. The term would be familiar to him as he must have heard it frequently in India applied to native, as distinguished from European, vessels.

⁵ Small articles, knick-knacks, trinkets.

⁶ Reresby who was in Amsterdam in 1654 says (p. 125), like Mundy (iv, 73), that the Old Exchange was "like that of London in the City as to model." Misson (i, 28) makes it about a thrd longer than the London building and also four feet wider.

Chiswell, 1696 (*Add. MS.* 10623), considered the Exchange to be "a mean building compared with ours in London."

See also description by Montague, pp. 161-2; and in *Le Guide de Flandre et de Hollande*, 1779, pp. 77-8. Bowrey's description is valuable, since the Oude Beurs was demolished c. 1840.

[decorated entrance] of Marble finely Carved. Within Is a great deal of Marble work and is now designed to be lined all the walls within with Marble. The inside is a large Hall in the Midle with a Prospect to the Top of the building which is now designed to be wrought with Irish Timber¹. In the Floor of this Hall is the Syphers [astrological signs] inlaid with Copper². About this Hall is severall Offices and Chambers for the Burghermasters. One Office where is Held the Court for Law Suits, and in that on Sundays after 11 aclock are Married all sorts of Relig[i]ons who are not of the Established Church which is the [blank]. They are Married by the Burghermasters³.

Up one Pair of Stairs is Severall Spacious rooms all Paved with Marble and well adorned, which are for the Schout, which is the Principall Officer of the Citty and Continues in

¹ By "Irish timber" Bowley seems to mean "timber like the bog oak of Ireland" Veryard in his *Account of divers choice remarks . . . taken in a Journey through the Low Countries*, etc., pub. 1701, says that the great thing lacking in Holland is wood. He adds (p. 19): "In their Turf-Pits they often find Oak Trees entire, the Timber of which is harder, more solid and blacker than that of our ordinary Oak . . . We find divers of these Trees in Devonshire, in Bogs and fenny Ground. Our Country People call it Black Oak."

² The Stadhuis, now the Royal Palace, was begun by Jac. van Kampen in 1648 and finished in 1655. The marble decorations of the interior are the work of Artus Quellin and his assistants.

The representation of the firmament inlaid in copper in the centre of the marble floor of the present Reception Room excited the wonder of the seventeenth-century travellers:

1690. Penson (*Harl MS.* 3516, f. 18-19) has a long account of the "Stat hous" and of its "Great Hall with a Stone floor wherein is wrought with much Curiosity two large Terrestriall Globes and one Celestiall. I believe each are in the diameter about twenty foot: the Letteis and lines are of Brass and all the other parts of naturall stones of divers Collours, so made and truly inlaid, that it looks as pleasant as it can be painted on paper or parchment."

1696. Montague, p. 130, says that "the Common-Hall for the Citizens" was "Up a pair of good Stairs" and that "Here is a famous Mosaique or Brass inlaid Globes, both Celestial and Terrestrial in the Floor. . . ."

c. 1706. De Blainville in his description of the building (I, 30-1) refers to the "Pavement of the Great Hall" with "the admirable Finishing of three large Globes Celestial and Terrestrial."

³ The room for marriages was, as Bowley states, on the first floor leading out of the North Gallery. Above the doorways of this room and that formerly used as a secretary's office are reliefs emblematical of Discretion and Fidelity.

his Place 3 Years, and for the Burghermester, for Consultation &ca.¹

Up two Pair of Stairs is a large room for the Officers of the Militia, round which is at full Proportion [life-size] and very well done the Pictures of about 100 that has bin Officers, the most part in the Spanish Habit and done in the time of the Spanish Government². The Stadthous, cost One Million of Pounds Sterling that an Account was kept of, and abundance more that there is no Account of³.

¹ Compare the following interesting account of the Government of Amsterdam in *A Journall of a Traveller in Holland*, 1669 (*Harl MS.* 6893, f 60). "There are in Amsterdam 36 of the Breedschap or Vroedschap which is the Common Council of the Towne, of these 36 there are 12 which have the title of Bourgomeesters being chosen by the 36, and of those, 12 are ruling Bugomeesters, of which 4, one presides quarterly by turnes. The 36 are in for lyfe, and soe are the 12, but the 4 Ruling Bourgomeesters are in but for a yeare, except chosen anew Yett one of those 4 remaines for the 2d yeare the better to informe the new ones of the state of affaires. These 4 Bourgomeesters dispose absolutely of all offices of all sorts, for which yett they take nothing, but [endow] therewith thir friends and relations There is besides a Scout heer who is in the nature of a Shereife, who takes into hold all Malefactors and takes care to have them prosecuted, and to whom belong all fynes that are imposed upon such, and he has no other salary, for this amounts to a greatly deale.... This Scout is in for 3 yeares, but sometimes continued for 10 yeares In Amsterdam, being chosen by 4 Bourgomeesters.... There are besides 9 Schepen who are Judges who are in for a yeare and then new ones chosen.... those, as all the rest of the Officers of the City, chosen by the Bourgomeesters, but out of the 36. The Scoutmeester though chosen and put in by the Bourgomeesters, yett takes place of them and [as] representing by his place the Count of Holland in this towne and is for the most part, if not alwayes, one of the 12 Bourgomeesters."

The room of the "Burghermester," noted by Bowrey, is now the Audience Chamber.

² Bowrey is mistaken in his description of pictures in the "Spanish Habit." He is evidently alluding to the paintings containing "portraits of the ancient Trainbands... in the same dress in which they passed muster" which hung in the Hall of the Court Martial (*Desc. of the City house of Amsterdam*, pp. 75-6). The most noted of these, that representing John Huidekooper as captain, by Govert Flinck, is No 925 in the Ryksmuseum at Amsterdam and has been lent by the town of Amsterdam since 1808, together with the portrait of Doctor Cornelis John Witsen as Deputy, by van der Elst (*Cat. of the Pictures etc in the Ryksmuseum*, 1910, p. 124).

³ The cost of the Stadhuis is variously given. De Blainville says (I, 31) that the building and foundations cost "above 12 Millions of Livres." Misson remarks (I, 24) that the "Foundation cost as much as all the Superstructure" and that the whole building cost "Three Millions." Patin (*Travels*, Eng. trans., 1696, p. 202) says "thirty millions" Baedeker gives the cost as eight million florins.

Went to One of the English Churches alias Meeting house, being of the Brownist¹: a small Place meanly sett out; about 200 Persons and most of them seemingly but Ordinary².

Went to the Great New Church which is neare the Stadt-house. This is the biggest and best Church of the Towne, is Large, has a Pulpit of Curiou[s] hollow Carved Work runing up a great height over head to a Pyramid; has 2 Organs, the One small, the Other large and Esteemed very fine for its Severall Sorts of Stops; has a large Peece of Brass work finely done and kept cleane, which runs cross the Chancell. At the uper end of the Chancell lyes Admirall Michael Ruytter; has a Monument of Marble very large and Curiously adorned at the Charge of the States³.

For other travellers' accounts of the Stadhuys, see Reresby (1654) who saw it (pp 124-5) "near finishing", Montague, 1696, pp 125-35, who calls it "the wonder and discourse of all the World, the Pride of Amsterdam and the Glory of the Seven Provinces"; *Travels* in 1691, *Add. MS.* 20705, f. 31-2, Chiswell, 1696, *Add. MS.* 10623; *Travels through Flanders*, 1725, pp. 23-7.

¹ The followers of Robert Browne, who defined his Separatist theory in 1580-1, were termed Brownists. Browne's Congregationalism was distinct from both Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, his chief tenet being that every church member is a spiritual person with a measure of the spirit and office of King, Priest and Prophet, to be exercised directly under the supreme Headship of Christ.

² Compare the following amusing account of service in a Brownist Meeting-house at Amsterdam in 1623 (*Add. MS.* 29492, f 11): "Were also at the Brownists Church, where one appointed as heere stands up and chooses his text and comments on it, and if any one thinkes he saide either to little or to much or from the matter belonging to the text, any one that will standeth up and delivers his mind, and so others find fault with him and fall to Arguing so that it is another Westminster hall rather then a place of divine faith . . . Of this sect their is not above 80."

Montague (1695) says (pp. 146-7): "Here [Amsterdam] are Armenians, Brownists or English Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers." Patin (p. 203) says: "At Amsterdam every one chooses a Creed at his pleasure and Religion is as free as the State, nay even the Roman Catholick does not offend their Consciences, but because it interffers with their Civil Government, the publick Exercise of that alone is prohibited."

³ Bowrey is describing the Nieuwe or St Katharynen Kerk, erected c. 1408 and restored in 1421, 1578 and 1645. The pulpit by Albert Vinckenbrinck was executed in 1649. The large organ is specially noted for its vox humana stop. The magnificent front was built by Jacob van Campen. The brass screen by Joannes Lutorna, separating the nave from the choir, is 13 ft. high. The monument of Admiral de Ruyter, d. 1676, by R. Verhulst, occupies the place of the High-Altar.

Penson, 1690 (*Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 20-1), was also impressed with the pulpit "Curiously adorned with Carved work and on the top of the

In the Chancell, after Church service was ended, an Officer called over about 17 Couple Men and Weomen, who having bin before Asked 3 Times in the Church, were now Ranked in Order, and then from a Pulpit a Minister read the Marriage Ceremony and Married them all at Once, and here is no other way of Marriage for the [blank] although of the Principall Inhabitants¹.

On the North side is a Marble Monument for [blank] Von Gallen, a Viceadmiral, and was done at the States Charge².

See the Keyzers Graft, that is the Emperours Chanell; has very good Houses along each side of the Chanell³.

Monday June the 13th 1698. This day Dined with Mr. Willm. Hysterman, a Dutch man, Speaks good English and is a Considerable Merchant, and Esteemed an extraordinary fair Dealer.

Then see the Spin house or Bridewell for Whores and shee Theves, who are kept here a Longer or shorter time as there Offences Merit, some for Years, they putting no Weomen to Death here for Stealing. There is now about 80 Weomen,

sounding board is erected a towering building which runs up to a great hith being adorned with abundance of figures, and is so truly wrought that it is admired for a great Master peece."

Of the organs Misson, I, 24, remarks that they "cost One Hundred Thousand Crowns" Reresby, who travelled in Holland in 1654, tells us that organs were "allowed in all protestant churches, though never to play till service be done" (p. 125), a custom remarked by Mundy some years earlier (IV, 65).

Of the brass screen the author of *Le Guide de Flandre et de Hollande*, 1779, writes (p. 56) "La nouvelle Eglise . . . est orné d'une belle balustrade en cuivre; c'est dans cette enceinte qu'on bénit les mariages."

The three features of the church that attracted Bowrey's attention are thus alluded to in *Travels through Flanders*, etc., 1725, pp. 22-3: "Amsterdam . . . Churches . . . In one of them the States have spared no cost to exceed the whole World in three Things (*viz.*) an Organ with sets of Pipes that Counterfeit a Chorus of Voices . . . a large carved Pulpit and Canopy . . . a Screen of Brass." See Montague, p. 140, for a description of the "new great Church," and De Blainville, I, 31, for de Ruyter's monument. See also Witkamp, *Woordenboek van Nederland*, p. 29; Bredius, I (*Groet en Bloet der Stad*), 196.

¹ I have found no confirmation of Bowrey's statement that couples were married in batches in the Reformed churches.

² Admiral Johann van Galen who died of wounds received at the naval battle of Leghorn, 1653.

³ The Keizersgracht, one of the chief concentric canals within the city.

who are all kept to Worke, to such Work as they are capable of, as Spining, Kniting, Lace, Sewing, with Overseers, and are Punished if there Task are not performed. They work in a Comon Room all together, have Good Victualls and Cleanly Beds provided for them. We pay here 2 Stivers [*c.* 2½*d.*] a peece to goe in¹.

Then see the Mad House [*Dolhuus*] or Bedlam, which is a Square with about 10 Rooms on each Side, 3 sides of which for Mad Men and Weomen, the other side for the Officers &ca.; all things kept very cleane. Paid here 2 Stivers apiece Entrance².

Tuesday June the 14th 1698. This day Dined with Mr. Steis, a Linnen Draper, in the Warmots stradt [*Warmoes-Straat*]; the Son Speak English, was by them most Courteously Invited, although Strangers.

See the Citty Weigh House which stands on the Open Place before the Stadthouse; is a square building of some worthy figure. Here all Goods must be Weighed that are Sold by the Bag or wholesale, for which a Duty is paid³.

¹ All the seventeenth and early eighteenth century travellers comment fully on the houses of correction in Amsterdam. For the Spin-House, see Mundy (1640), iv, 73-4 and note; *Lansd. MS.* 213 (1648), f. 88; Misson (1687), i, 25-6; Penson (1690), f. 25; *Travels through Flanders*, etc. (1725), pp 27-9.

² See Mundy, iv, 73 and note. Penson, f. 24 The care bestowed by the Dutch on unfortunates of all conditions presented a favourable contrast with the systems obtaining in other parts of Europe at that date. The satirical writer of *Lansd. MS.* 213, *Three Moneths Observations of the Low-Countries*, 1648, remarks "Amongst them [the Hollanders] Poverty and Madness do both inhabit handsomely," and the author of *Harl. MS.* 6893, No. 3 (*c.* 1700), describes, fol. 42-8, the various "Acts of Mercy" performed by "the Prudent Hollanders" in every large town of the States.

³ Compare *Harl. MS.* 6893 (*c.* 1700), f. 60: "They have publique Weigh Houses which are farmed out for 280000 guilders a yeare cleare gaine, and they make account that the charges of the farmer thereof is or comes to 100 guilders daylie. All Commodities bought and sold by weight must be there weighed if they amount to 100 pound weight. So that no citizen hath or may have greate Scales in his house except he compound with the State or farmer. . . ."

The St Antonieswaag, the old weigh-house built as a town gate 1488-1585, long used by different guilds, now houses the Municipal Archives.

See At a Tavern a fine Collection of Foreign Fouls and Birds alive; there is a Nure and 2 Cocatoa¹ &ca.

Wednesday June 15th 1698. This day see [that] at the North East part of the Citty lyes about 60 Men of War of which severall 3 Deckt Ships. They lie encompassed with Piles close aboard each other and no Merchant Ships neare them. Near adjoyning is a Yard for the building the States Ships² with, and on the Back of that is a range of Storehouses &ca. of 600 or 700 ft. Long, at the South end of which is a Square Pile of Storehouses about 200 foot Square and 4 Stories high.

About $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile to the Eastward of the States Yard Lies the East India Companys Yard, Magazins, &ca., they building there Own Ships; make all there Cordage, Anchors, Sails, &ca.

Here is a New Pile of Storehouses of about 500 foot in Length, 50 ft. broad, three Stories high³.

Here is now 3 Ships fitting with all Expedition for India, 1 Great Ship on the Stocks. Halfe the Trade to India belong[s] to Amsterdam, One Quarter to [the Province of] Zeland, One Quarter to Delft, Rotterdam, Horne [Hoorn] and Enchysen [Enkhuizen].

See the Bank which is kept in the Lower part of the Stadthouse The Office is kept by about 3 Clerks. The Book wherein every Mans account Stands is about the Bigness of a Church Bible, and is kept in a Place Cutt out of the Maine Stone in the Building with a Copper Door to prevent Fire. In another Room adjoyning is

¹ A lory and two cockatoos. Bowrey is using the Malay words *nūri* and *kākātūwa* with which he was familiar when in Sumatra. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lory and Cockatoo for these terms and for quotations from 1450 to 1698.

² For the shipbuilding depôt, which the author of *Add. MS* 20705 (1691) calls "Saeuvedam," see *op. cit* f. 33.

³ Compare Chiswell, 1696 (*Add. MS*. 10623): "Amsterdam... Here the East India Company have a noble dock for their Ships, and close by large and Magnificent Warehouses for their Goods, which they import in such abundance, that really in this perticular Amsterdam may be counted the Mart of the World."

In 1822, the enormous corn warehouses, originally built for the Dutch E.I.Co., sank down into the mud owing to the piles giving way (Murray's *Hand Book*, p. 41).

always attending Commissaries of the Bank who are the Overseers thereof¹.

Near adjoining is the Cellars where the Money of the Bank Lyes; some part of this Lower storie is a Prison for Debtors².

Then see on the upper Storie the Armory, in which is a great Deal of Curious Armour taken from the Spaniards, also other Armour, and Muskett and Swords, as they say for near a Hundred Thousand Men. The Arms are but Ordinary, all belonging to the Citty³.

See the Chimes which Consist of 35 Bells well Tuned, the Biggest bell at least 5 foot over⁴.

Dined this Day with Mr. Hysterman, then went to Mr. Vincents, a Dutch Gentleman, where see a great and Curious Collection of Pictures of Flowers, Hearbs, Dried Hearbs, Birds, Insects, shells and Many Insects &ca. kept in Spirits. There is Many other Curiosities which wee had not time to see⁵.

¹ Compare Misson, I, 24: "Here [in the Town-House] are kept the vast Sums of which the Fund of the Bank is compos'd. The doors are proof against Petards; and for the greater Security a certain number of Burghers walk the Rounds every Night"

² Bargrave who saw the Stadhuis in course of erection in February 1653 says (*Rawl. MS.* 799, f. 91): "The Foundation of a vast thicknes, and made into severall Partitions, some for Magazenes and some for Dungeons to entertain Malefactors, darke and dreadfull enough to fright them to Repentance."

³ This "Armory" must be the one described by Commelin, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam*, p. 266, on the upper floor of the Stadhuis, containing weapons for some dozens of men, together with full suits of cuirassiers' armour for a company of horse. There was another armoury on the second floor containing cannon for the defence of the City (*ibid.* 263 and *Desc. of the City house of Amsterdam*, 1751, p. 17).

⁴ Mundy (IV, 68) and Reresby, p. 125, both remark on the "chimes" from the towers of the churches in Amsterdam. In the *Guide ou Nouvelle Desc. d'Amsterdam*, 1734, pp. 121-2, the bells to which Bowrey alludes are thus described: "In the tower of the Oude or St. Nicolaas Kerk is a very fine clock striking the hours, the half and quarter hours on different bells, with a fine carillon of 36 [*sic*] bells all changed in 1658 by a famous bell founder Hemoni. The bell which strikes the hour weighs 7000 livres; there is also another of the same weight rung morning and evening."

Bredius, III (*Het Muzickleven*), 116, gives the number of bells in the Oude Kerk as 35. Commelin, *op. cit.* p. 440, says 36, but adds that there were 35 iron keys, *the same number as the bells*, to the keyboard for playing them.

⁵ Mr Malcolm Letts thinks that "Mr. Vincents" is probably identical with the Nicolaas Cornelisz. Witsen, Recorder of the City, mentioned by

Thursday June 16th 1698. This Day Dined with Mr. Wm. Facet on the Keyzers Graft [Keizersgracht], then went to the Play hous which is somewhat Large[r] then the Play-houses in London, much in the same Form, only the Boxes are as our Lower Gallery; the Scenes Indifferent; the Actors, I Beleive Act well¹. The Play Acted is Called The Mode, representing the Humours of the Towne². They Act but Twice a Week, and this is the last time for the Summer³.

Then see the Rasphouse, which is a Strong Prison and has now in it 117 Lust [*sic*] Young Men, who are put in, some for 25 Years, some less, as there Crimes deserve, which is for Crimes next to what deserves Death, as Robbing &ca.

And also Idle persons who will not work, of which there is Severall Monuments hung up in the Prison Yard, as Crutches, Trusses, &ca., of Persons pretending to be Lame and soe to Beg. They are kept hard to Work to Rasp hard Wood for Dyeing, and for such as refuses to work, they are put into a Celler into which the water runs, and there is a Pump. If they will Pump Hard, they keep the water Low; if not, it rises and Drownds them⁴.

Patin (p. 204), who had a remarkable collection Patin has no mention of "Flowers, Hearbs," etc, but Gebhard in his *Het Leven van Nicolaas Cornelisz Witsen* (1, 527) says that from his letters it may be inferred that the collection included natural history specimens.

¹ Reresby (p. 125) thought the theatre at Amsterdam "a handsome peece." Penson (*Harl. MS.* 3516) says. "The Play house I went to some tymes, being willing to se what diversion this heavie heeld Dutch could afford on the stage, which I found but very indifferent. The stage is Prettily adorned but the altering of their Sceens is such a Tedious busnesse with them that it mightily baulks the fancie of the beholders"

Montague also (pp. 213-16) went (1695) to the "Play-House" at Amsterdam "which is but ordinary," where he saw a Comedy called "Crispin the Physician," and he notes the prices of the seats.

² This play is the Zinnespel *De Mode* by Pieter Bernagie, published in Amsterdam in 1698. The Leyden Maatsch v. Letterkunde possesses four editions of it. There is a play by the same author published in 1685 in the Library of the British Museum.

³ Reresby also (1654) remarks (p. 125) that the "players" only acted twice a week.

⁴ See Mundy, iv, 73-4 and note, for the Rasp House; also *Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 25, and Misson, i, 25-6.

See the Musick Houses which stands all near the Riverside where the Ships Lyes. There is about 17 of them, where in each appears 10 or 12 Whores who are ready for any Man who desires to accompany them and Sufficiently Confident in talk, and well Dressed in Cloths. Tis from these Houses that when There is Company wanting in the Spin House, the Schout [Mayor] sends his Officers and takes up as Many of these Whores as is wanting, knowing always where to find them, that they are in a Maner Tolerated¹.

Fryday June 17th 1698. The city of Amsterdam is about 10 Miles about, encompassed with a Brick wall, with Bastions at convenient distances, and a good Ditch round it, and Canalls thro all the Principall Streets of the Citty². The Canalls are generally about 50 foot wide and admits of Laden Vessells. The Houses stands about 40 foot back from the Canalls with a Row of Trees betweene. The Houses stand on Piles of Fir, about 30 ft. Long, the Piles being easily drove into the Earth—built of very good Brick. They use Much blew stone which is brought from about Namur and is Cheap³; much Marble for Floors, most of the Lower Floors being Marble; Much White Tying on the sides of

De Blainville (i, 36) says that "a Scoundrel...becoming desperate" permitted himself to drown and that subsequently the water-punishment was discontinued "least some other desperate Malefactor should follow such an Example."

Chiswell (*Add. MS.* 10623) remarks on the houses of correction at Amsterdam and says that the method of confinement with hard labour produced a better effect than the practice of summary execution prevalent in England at that date.

Compare Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 100: "If they doe nott pumpe they will not only be wett, but drowne"

¹ For the "Musick Houses" at Amsterdam, see Mundy, iv, 77 and note; Misson, i, 27-8; *Travels through Flanders*, etc. 1725, pp. 74-5.

² Chiswell (*Add. MS.* 10623) says of Amsterdam in 1696. "This Citty is extraordinary well fortified according to the modderne way and provided with all things necessary for a Seige."

³ Emanuel Mendes da Costa in his *Natural History of Fossils*, p. 198, says, under the heading *Pierre bleue*, *Blaeuwe Stein*: "This marble is used in great quantities in the cities of Holland, chiefly for steps to the houses; it is brought there from the county of Namur, the Pais des Vallons, and the adjacent parts of Flanders, where are vast quarries of it. The inhabitants of that country, as well as those of Holland, call it *blauwe stein*, i.e., the blue stone."

Rooms and the Ironwork extraordinary Strong¹. The Houses are mostly 3 and 4 Stories high. Here is about 12 Churches, besides many Meetings, and a great many Popish Meetings².

	Guilders [gulden]	Stivers [stuiver]
4 Doits [<i>duit</i>] is 1 [blank]		
6 Doits is 1 [blank]		
8 Doits is	0:	1
6 Stivers 1 Scilling [<i>schelling</i>]		
20 Stiver 1 Guilder		
1 Rix Doller [<i>ryks-daalder</i>]	2:	10
1 Doller [<i>daalder</i>]	1:	10
1 Ducatton [<i>dukaton</i>]	3:	3
20 Shillings English Silver	11:	0
1 Guinea	12:	0
1 French Pistool [<i>pistole</i>]	9:	9
1 Gold Duccatton	5:	5
112 li. English is 104 li. Dutch		
The Ell is 27 Inches		
1 Gold Guilder	28 Stivers	
1 Guilder	20 Stivers	
1 Stiver	16 [half] Penningen	
1 Pound Flemish	6 Guilders or 20 Shillings [<i>schelling</i>]	
1 Shilling [<i>schelling</i>] Flemish	6 Stivers or 12 Grooten	
1 Stiver	2 Grooten or 8 Penningen ³	

¹ Compare the following description of Dutch towns in 1623 (*Add. MS.* 29492, f 12). "In these aforementioned places [Rotterdam, Amsterdam &c] their building is throughout of brick, the kennels [channels] run on both sides the streets; no carts are used but slegs, but waggons sometimes passe through with passengers...Flemish tiles cover their houses"

² Montague, 1695, says, p 144-5, that there were 13 churches in Amsterdam, but only one English church, "formerly a Popish Chapel," where he heard "sorry Preaching," lasting "an hour and three quarters" He also remarks on the restrictions to which the Romanists were subjected as regarded services in their "Chapels or Mass-Rooms"

The writer of *Travels through Flanders*, etc 1725, also gives (pp. 19-20) the number of churches as 13, of which 9 were of the Reformed Religion, 2 French, 1 High-Dutch, 1 English, all of whom were allowed bells. The Papists had 85 houses or Chapels. Their Nuns were not cloistered. No bells were allowed either to Jews, Lutherans, Armenians, Brownists or English Independents, Anabaptists or Quakers.

³ On page 31 Bowrey made a few notes on the money he found at Rotterdam. He now gives a much longer table for Amsterdam. The complicated Dutch system of currency which Peter Mundy had to face in 1640 had not materially changed in Bowrey's time in 1698, but the

AMSTERDAM TO HARLEM [HAARLEM].

Fryday June 17th 1698. At 4 this afternoon we Embarked on the Track Skute for Harlem, which goes every hour. The Skute carries about 30 persons, is covered¹. The Passage is

latter's notes are not so complete as Mundy's Dutch currency in the olden time is never an easy matter to systematise, and Bowrey's rough and ready calculations are specially difficult to tabulate. However, it is possible to make the following incomplete tables out of them, using those evolved from Peter Mundy's notes (vol. iv, p. 80).

Firstly, Bowrey's blanks can be filled in thus: 4 *duits* make 1 *groot*: 6 *duits* make 1 *blank*, the old Dutch "six-doit-piece." Then can be made out, with the help of Mundy's scales, parts of the three scales of currency due to the introduction of foreign coinages owing to changes in the political position of the country

Scale I

4 duits	= 1 groot	
8 duits	= 2 groots	= 1 stuiver
160 duits	= 20 stuivers	= 1 gulden
	6 gulden	= 1 pound (Bowrey's "Flemish pound" and Mundy's "pownd")

Scale II.

6 duits	= 1 blank	
8 duits	= [1½ blank]	= 1 stuiver
6 stuivers	= 1 schelling	
30 stuivers	= [5 schellings]	= 1 daalder
50 stuivers	= [1⅓ dollar]	= 1 rijks-daalder

Scale III.

2 half-pennings	= 1 penning
4 pennings	= 1 groot
2 groots	= 1 stuiver
63 stuivers	= 1 dukaton

Other Dutch coins mentioned by Bowrey are a gold *dukaton* = 105 *stuivers* = 10s. 4d. on Bowrey's reckoning, or 8s. 9d. at par of 1d. the *stuiver*: and a "gold guilder" = 28 *stuivers* = 2s. 9½d. according to Bowrey or 2s. 4d. at par. Bowrey also calls the *schelling* "Flemish" and speaks of the pound as "Flemish." Then taking the par of the *stuiver* at 1d., 20 *stuivers* or one "guilder" = 1s. 8d. and the "Flemish pound" = 6 *gulden* = 20 *schellings* = 120 *stuivers* = 10s. By Bowrey's reckoning it would be 12s.

Bowrey says "112 *li*. English is 104 *li*. Dutch." That is to say that the exchange was 7.72 per cent. in favour of the Dutch *pond* and incidentally it shows that the Flemish pound and Mundy's "pownd" were to the Dutch foreign money. Bowrey's other statements show that the exchange at Amsterdam was more than 7½ per cent. in favour of the Dutch.

There are three other kinds of foreign money that Bowrey notices: "20 shillings English silver = 11 *guldens*" = 27s. 6d., Bowrey's reckoning, or 18s. 6d. at par. The guinea, presumably in gold, was a *guilder* or 1s. 8d. more. The French *pistole* remained at 9 *guilder* or 15s. at par.

Bowrey further remarks that the Amsterdam ell was 2 ft. 3 in.

¹ Compare S. Clements, 1710-11, *Egerton MS.* 2167, f. 2 v. "A Track Schyte [*trekschuit*, canal-boat], a long boat drawn along the Canals with a hors, wherein 30 or 40 People may sit cover'd."

on a Canal about 60 ft. wide. It goes about 6 Miles when, the Canal ending, we Shifted a Small distance by Land into another Skute, and going on such another Canal, at $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 6 we arrived at Harlem¹. The Passage Money is $7\frac{7}{8}$ Stivers [*c.* $9\frac{1}{2}d.$] and is paid in the first boat². Where we Shifted Boats is the Harlem Meer, on the South side, and is soe wide I could not see from side to side. On the North side is the River Y which goes down to Amsterdam; the distance between them [the river and the Meer] here is not above $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile³. The Distance from Amsterdam to Harlem is about 10 Miles, and goes in $2\frac{1}{2}$ Hours. The Boat goes every Noon from Harlem to Amsterdam. On Harlem Meer see severall Vessels under sayle. The Meer is Brackish, the Canalls Fresh water.

Harlem is a Walled [town] with a Brick wall surrounded with a Ditch⁴. The River Spaar [Spaarne] runs thro the City. Above the City it goes into Harlem Meer and at Spaarendam it is lett by gates into the Y, By which Passage Vessels can goe from Amsterdam to Harlem and into Harlem Meer⁵. 'Tis from Harlem to the Meer about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles. Harlem is in Compass about 4 Miles, the City Handsomly built of Brick, 2: 3 and 4 Stories high; the Streets broad paved with Flat Stone and kept very clean⁶. Seems to have a good Trade,

¹ See Mundy, iv, 65 and n 1 Compare *Harl MS.* 4471, *Voyage de Mme de Longueville*, 1646: "En chemin [Amsterdam to Haarlem] il nous fallut mettre pied à terre pour passer une Digue fait de main d'hommes qui sépare la mer en deux."

² Compare *Travels through Flanders*, etc. 1725, p. 17: "Haerlem.... From hence you have a passage by Boat to Amsterdam for six Stivers, but when you are come half way, you must step out of one Boat to go into another." This spot is now marked by Halfway station between Haarlem and Amsterdam.

³ The Haarlemmer Meer [Lake], now the Haarlemmer Polder [Drained Lake], was a lake 18 miles long and 9 miles wide, formed in the fifteenth century by the overflow of the Rhine and the crumbling of the banks of the Y. The drainage of the Meer was begun in 1840 and completed in 1853. The Polder of the Y was not formed until 1862 when the shallow basin of the river was drained.

⁴ See Mundy, iv, 65. Bargrave (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799, f. 93 v.) describes Haarlem as "a faire City Trenched and walld." Promenades and gardens now cover the old ramparts.

⁵ The strong lock gates which formerly separated the waters of the Y from the Haarlemmer Meer still exist.

⁶ See *Add. MS.* 20705, f. 33, for a description of Haarlem in 1691. Bargrave found the town to resemble "Amsterdam in litle," and "for neatness equall, though not for Majestie."

especially in Thread, Tape and Linnen, and is the most famous place for Bleaching Linnen¹.

About the Midle of the Citty stands the Great Church, which is large and well built, the Spire in the Midle². Near adjoyning is a very Handsome Fish markt, and not far ofe a Meat Markt very Handsomly built which seeming like a fine Church³ and very well supplied with very good Veal and Lamb, and indifferent [fairly] good Beefe. Before the Great Church is a Large open Place for other Marketting⁴, and at the End of that is the Stadthouse, indifferent [tolerably] well built with a good Garden. King William, when Prince of Orang, was Lodged in this Stadthouse⁵.

Wee Lodged here at the Golden Fleece near the East side of the Great Church; it is a good house⁶.

Harlem lyes about 2 Miles from the Sea. The Price of a Wagon from hence to Leyden is 8 G: 4 St: [16s. 5d.] and Passage Money which is about 2 Guilders.

HARLEM TO LEYDEN [AND THE HAGUE].

Saturday June 18th 1698. At 10 this forenoon we Embarked on the Track Skute for Leyden going on a Narrow Canal,

¹ The tape and linen manufacture of Haarlem and its celebrated bleacheries are mentioned by all the seventeenth and eighteenth century travellers.

1687. "The Linen and Tape which are made at Haerlem, have for a long time been its chief Trade" (Misson, 1, 19).

1696. "Haerlem...renownd for making the finest Linnen Cloth, Tiffanies, Damask, and flower'd Silks; Stuffs, Ribands and Tapes...they make the finest Thred and Tapes for Lace in the whole World; their Bleacheries surpass all other whatsoever" (Montague, p. 107).

1725. "Haerlem...their Bleacheries surpass all other whatsoever, their Waters whitening Cloth better than any in the Seventeen Provinces" (*Travels through Flanders*, etc. p. 17).

² The Groote Kerk (St Bavo), erected at the end of the fifteenth century. The tower is 255 feet high.

³ The Meat Market, erected by Lieven de Key, the noted mason of Haarlem, in 1602-3, a remarkable brick and stone building.

⁴ The Groote Markt in which, as Bowrey says, stand the Groote Kerk, the Meat Market and the Stadhuis.

⁵ The Stadhuis, a twelfth century building, originally a palace of the counts of Holland, was remodelled in 1633.

⁶ Monconys also, in 1663 (II, 157), lodged "à la Toison d'or au bout de la place à côté de l'Eglise."

and at 2 o'clock arrived in Leyden. I Judge the Distance to be 16 Miles; the Passage is 12½ Stivers [*c.* 1s. 3d.]¹.

Leyden is about 1 Mile in Length, indifferent [tolerably] well built—some very good buildings—has severall Canalls thro it. See the Anatomy School where is Severall Skeletons and other things not worth the trouble of going to See². The Academy is all one building of severall rooms for the Severall Schools or Lecturs, in which the Masters read Lecturs to the Scholars, who repair thither dayly to that purpose, they studying at home, none Lodging in the School³. Adjoyning to the Schoole is a Garden with Severall Sorts of Foreign Plants, amongst which is a Date Tree with blows [blossoms] on it, about 5 ft. high⁴; and on one Side is a Room with Skeletons, a Sea Cows Skin about 5 foot on the back and about 8 ft. Long, brought from Cape Bona Esperanca [Cape of Good Hope]⁵; a Stone of about 50 *li.* weight of Amyanthus⁶, and other things.

¹ In 1787 the fare was less, for the author of a *Tour through Part of the Austrian Netherlands* (p. 245) says: "The track-scoot sets out from Haerlem to Leyden every two hours. . . . You pay for your passage seventeen sols and two more to the driver. The distance is near sixteen English miles."

² Other seventeenth century travellers did not share Bowrey's contempt for the Anatomical School at Leyden. See Misson, I, 14, and Chiswell (*Add. MS.* 10623) who remarks on the "most Choice Collection of Anatomys" for the "Improvement" of students at the University.

Patin (p. 208) waxes enthusiastic over the wonders of Leyden, and Marmaduke Rawdon of York has a catalogue three pages long (pp. 103-5).

³ The University of Leyden was founded in 1575 and was of great renown. See *Add. MS.* 29492, f. 10, for a description of the "Eaton like Universitie of Leiden" in 1623. See also *Add. MS.* 20705 (1691), f. 33-4; Chiswell, *op. cit.*

⁴ Probably this was one of the two date-palms, which survived until c. 1836 and were considered to be more than 200 years old (Murray's *Hand-Book to Holland*, p. 33). For the "Phisick" or Botanical Garden at Leyden, founded in 1587, see *Add. MS.* 29492, f. 10; *Harl. MS.* 4471, f. 32-3; Misson, I, 15; Montague, p. 95.

⁵ Penson (*Harl. MS.* 3516), who was at Leyden in 1690, has a list, two pages in length (f. 15) of these skeletons and curios, including "the hide of a sea hors". The skin described in the text is that of a "sea-cow" or *dugong*, an animal which would be known to Bowrey from his Malay experiences. *Dugong* is a Malay term. About 1900 a *dugong* lived at the end of the pier on Ross Island, Port Blair Harbour, Andaman Islands, in about 5 fathoms of water.

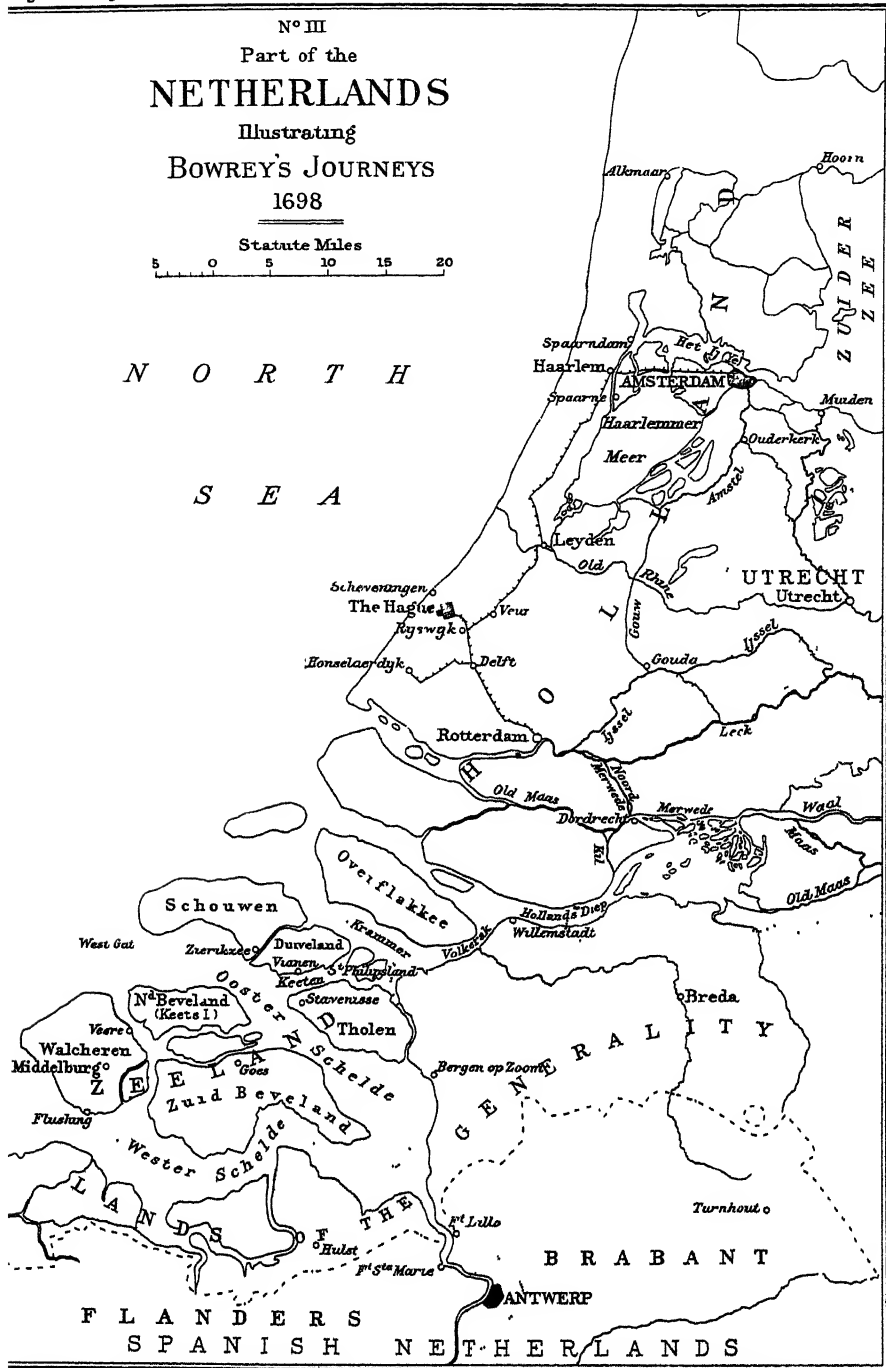
⁶ Bowrey is using the term *amianthus*, now applied to the finer kinds of asbestos, in its ancient signification, *i.e.* to designate a fibrous serpentine or chrysolite. The stone he saw was probably identical with the "great

N^o III
Part of the
NETHERLANDS
Illustrating
BOWREY'S JOURNEYS
1698

Statute Miles
5 0 5 10 15 20

N O R T H

S E A



Paid in the Town 75 Stivers [*c.* 7s. 6d.] for 24 Eggs, bread, butter and 2 Quarts ordinary beer.

At 5 the afternoon embarked on the Track Skute for Hague paying [$7\frac{1}{8}$]¹ Stivers for a Man². At $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 6 came to the end of the Canal which is at the small Towne of [Veur], where left that Skute, and walking a little distance Embarked on another Skute and at 8 aclock the Evening arrived at the Hague. All the way from Harlem to Leyden and from Leyden to the Hague is a very Pleasant Country, the land Levell, but lies mostly 3 or 4 foot above the water and without Banks, with Many fine Country Houses and Pleasant Gardens near the Canall, especially near the Hague.

IN THE HAGUE.

Sunday June 19th 1698. This afternoone see the Kings House in the Wood Towards Leyden. The House is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles from the Town thro the Said Wood, which begins close to the Town. The Wood is of Oaks, Elms, &ca., being a Sandy Soil, has many pleasant Walks in it and a Mal. The said House has about 6 Rooms and 2 Closets neatly furnished. In one of the rooms a true Japan Lackerd Bed and Inclosed with rails and Banisters of the same work, with Severall other rarities and severall Peeces of the Late Queens Own Needle Work. Here is one prety Large Hall, being the whole Height of the building with a Cupollo in the Midle, and there [is] a Gallery for Musick. It is Painted all Round, indifferently well done, representing the Actions of Prince Henry Frederick, the Present King of England[']s] Father, and built by his Mother³. In it is severall Lookinglasses with Hanging

Jasper-Stone or Blood-Stone from Arabia which appears in Montague's Catalogue of the "Rarities" to be seen at Leyden (*Delights of Holland*, pp. 72-95), and is possibly the same as the one in Marmaduke Rawdon's Catalogue (pp. 103-5) which is described as "A stone like rock-allum, of which is made flax [asbestos]."

¹ This amount is supplied from the accounts given in Appendix I.

² The fare by *trekschuit* from Leyden to the Hague in 1725 was 7 *stuivers* (*Travels through Flanders*, p. 14).

³ Bowrey is describing the Huis ten Bosch about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Hague, in the N.E. corner of the Park, a royal villa, erected by Jac. van Campen and Peter Post for Princess Amalia of Solms, widow of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, d. 1647, grandfather, not father as Bowrey

Candlesticks of Lookingglass. When the Candles [are] Lighted, [it] must be a great advancement to the Beauty of the Room, the Room being used Cheifly for Balls and Dancing. The Gardens adjoyning are enclosed with a Brick wall, containing about Six acres, with Sandy Walks, Arbours, Cutt Hedges, Cyphers [symbolical designs], &ca., Indifferent Pleasant.

See the Great Church, which is A Midle Church¹, but ordinaryly built, Hung with a Boundance of Escutcheons². At the East end, in the Chancell, is a Marble Monument with the Statue in the Midle, Standing upright, of Admiral Opdam; at each Corner is a Statue representing Fortitude, Vigilance, Prudence and Fidelity; it was done at the Charge of the State³.

Then see the Lord Portlands Gardens⁴, which lyes about a Mile out of the Town, a little of the West side of the road to Schevilling [Scheveningen]. The Gardens Consists of Many fine Rows of Sycamores, Ewes [yews] and other Trees cut very handsomly, good Grass walks and some sandy walks,

says, of William III, Prince of Orange and subsequently King of England. William III's father was William II of Orange who died, aged 21, in 1650, a few days after the birth of his son.

Montague (pp. 41-3) has a description of the "Prince's House in the Bosch or Wood" and mentions "one Closet of all true Indian Japan, made of Cabinets or Chests taken in pieces," but he does not mention the bedstead

The "prety Large Hall" is the Orange Saloon, an octagonal hall, painted, as described, by artists of the school of Rubens and partly lighted by the cupola above. See Chiswell, *Add. MS.* 10623, under date 22 March 1696

¹ By a "Midle," Bowrey means a "Decorated Gothic," building. The term is now obsolete. De Blainville says of it, *i.e.* the Groote Kerk or Church of St James, "The Fabrick of this Church is of a very particular Kind, being neither supported by Columns, Pillars nor Pilasters."

² By "a Boundance of Escutcheons" Bowrey refers to the framed coats-of-arms of some Knights of the Golden Fleece. These also attracted De Blainville's attention: "The great Church in the Quire of which are 32 Blasons or Coats of Arms of so many Knights of the Golden Fleece" (1, 15).

³ The monument to Admiral Obdam, who fell in a naval engagement with the English in the Sound in 1665, is by Bart. Eggers. See De Blainville, *loc. cit.*, for an account of the monument and its inscription.

⁴ William Bentinck (c. 1645-1709), a Dutchman created first Earl of Portland in 1689.

a fine Green house in the forme of a Half Amphitheater and Handsomly built, before which is very fine Ewe [yew] Trees and Hedges, with fine Orang and Bay Trees &ca. finely sett out. There is also a Groto sett Curiously with Shells, Rock Corall and Lookinglasses, and in it a Fountain. There is another Shell House with water Springing out of the Floor¹. On the side of the said Houses is One Oyster Shell of 40 Inches Diameter². Here is nothing of a House. This Garden was made by a Gentleman and given to King William, who has given it to the Lord Portland³.

From hence went to Schevelling, which is 2 Miles from the Hague. It is a Strait road Paved all the Way with Brick with a fine Row of Trees and a Wood on Each side⁴. Schevelling

¹ Penson in 1690 (*Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 14) was much impressed by "Myne Heer Bentings... delicate Gardens, Walks, Ponds, Motes, Grottoes, Fountaines and figures, Bridges and Gates and great Plenty of fruit and flowers very Curious and various; A place so neatly composed that here Art and Nature seem to go 'hand in hand'."

Chiswell (*Add. MS.* 10623, under date March 1696) also remarks: "About the midway [between the Hague and Scheveningen] stands a house of the Earle of Portlands, which is but indifferent, but the Garden, for the green House, Forreigne Plants and other Curiousitys in that Art is counted one of the best in these parts, but compared with the Duke of Beauforts at Bodmington [Badminton] and severall others in England, it ought not to be mentioned. Here they are forced to cover their Walks with Sand instead of rowled Gravell, which is certainly one of the greatest Ornaments to a Garden."

See also Montague's description (pp 44-5) of "Myn Heer Bentink's (now Earl of Portland)" house and gardens; and Misson, I, 11.

² Probably a large scallop shell, *Tridacna gigas*. See Mundy, III, 145, 152-3.

³ The name of the donor of the garden appears to be Heer van Sorgfliet, for Tessin, describing a journey in Holland in 1687 (*Studieresor i Danmark*, etc. pp. 75, 76) notes Santannelandt, a house and garden belonging to Heer van Santannelandt and also Sorgfliet, between the Hague and Scheveningen, a house and large garden.

⁴ Compare the following remarks of seventeenth century travellers on the road from the Hague to Scheveningen, paved with clinkers in 1666. The descriptions apply to the present day, though the place is no longer "a small fishing Town," but a thriving watering place

"Scheveling... the road from the Hague to this village is a late made way, cut through vast deep mountains of sand, paved through with curious stone; a work fit for the ancient Romans" (*A Late Voyage to Holland* (1691), *Harl. Miscell.* II, 592-3).

"About 3 Miles of [f] is Schevelling and the Sea, to which the walk is paved with Brick, and so regularly planted with trees that it is a most lovely sight" (Chiswell, *Add. MS.* 10623, p. 23).

De Blainville (I, 16) considered the road from the Hague to Scheven-

is a small fishing Town on the Sea Coast, has about 20 flat bottomd Longboats which hauls on to the Sand¹. There is a Spire Steeple in the Town².

At 7 this Evening returned to the Hague; at 9 Walked on the Promenade, which is a Pleasant Walk of about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Mile in Length with Good Rows of Trees on Each side, and the Walk railed in, and a Row of good Houses at a small Distance on each side³.

This Forenoon see the Great Hall which is in the Palace and somewhat in the form of Westminster Hall, but not above $\frac{1}{4}$ soe big, with Book[s]ellers Shops on each side and Hung full of Collours taken from Enemys⁴. Above the Hall at a small distance is the Councell Chamber of the States Generall, which is Well Adorned With the Pictures of King William, of his Father, of Prince Henry Frederik, Of Prince

ingen "a Work in some respects as admirable as the famous Consular High-ways of the ancient Romans" He adds: "This wonderful Way is quite straight, and paved with small yellowish bricks extreamly hard, and joined Side-wise very close together, it is bordered on each side with four Rows of Lofty Trees planted in a Line, and an infinity of Gardens made in the Sand with vast labour and Expençe."

See also Montague, p. 43; *Travels through Flanders*, etc. 1725, p. 79.

¹ These "flat bottomd Longboats," called in Dutch *Bommen*, are still employed at Scheveningen. They are of a unique type, in that their breadth is exactly half their length, and they are constructed with this immense beam in order that they may remain upright when hauled up high and dry on the sand (G. S. Laird Clowes).

² De Blainville (I, 16) says "The Village Church and Clock of Scheveling, with the vast Ocean terminate this admirable Visto [the route from the Hague to Scheveningen]"

³ Montague (p. 43) calls "the Promenade" the "Mall or Mell" and says it is "like that in St. James's Park, but not so neat or well kept, being not so much frequented."

De Blainville (I, 15) terms it correctly the "Voorhout. .where the Persons of Quality take the Air in their Coaches" He gives the date of its being "beautified with fine trees" as 1536.

⁴ The old Hall of the Knights in the Binnenhof, part of a palace built in the fifteenth century by Count William II of Holland, and enlarged by his son Florens V. At one time the repository of the Archives of the Home Office, it has since been restored in its former style and is now used for the opening of Parliament.

Montague also compares the Great Hall with Westminster Hall, "tho not so big" but "full (like that) of Booksellers and Toy-shops"

De Blainville (I, 14) remarks on the "Colours and Flags and other Trophies taken by the Republic from her Enemies by Sea and Land." See also *Travels through Flanders*, etc. 1725, p. 24.

William the first and his Two Sons¹, all in full Proportion and seemingly well done, With other good paintings on the Ceiling and Gilded Moulding. This is a room of about 50 ft. Long and 20 ft. broad. In it sits the Deputies of the States Generall, who are 7, with a President who sits at the Midle of the Table, and there is a Chair for the King of England when he comes².

See the Palace which Consists of 2 Stories and about 8 Rooms on a Floor, in which nothing extraordinary of building or Furniture, only 2 Silver Tables, 2 Lookinglass Frames and 2 Stands of Silver. The building of all the Court is very Indiferent, Containing about 2 Acres and is Moted in³. On the South West side is a Pond of about 600 ft. Long and 400 ft. broad, Called the Viver with a Small Iland in the Midle⁴. The Councell Chamber of the States Generall looks into this Pond, which is the Length of the Court. In the said Councell Chamber all Foreign Embassadors Receive there

¹ Bowrey's list of names is rather confused. He means William of Nassau, Prince of Orange (William I), 1533-1584, his sons, Maurice (d. 1625) and Frederick Henry (d. 1647); his grandson, William II (d. 1650), and his great-grandson William III of England (1650-1702)

² The title of States-General, established under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy, was transferred, after the separation of the northern Netherlands from the Spanish dominions, in 1579, to the elected representatives of the Seven United Provinces in the following order of precedence: Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overysse and Groningen (Stad en Landen). The Provinces sent deputations varying in number, each Province having but a single vote. The President was changed each week, being chosen in turn by each Province in their order of precedence. The Council-Pensionary (Raad Pensionaris of Holland) was the spokesman of the Province in the States-General. See Edmundson, *Hist. of Holland*, p. 111. Montague (*Delights of Holland*, pp. 27-28) describing the room where the States-General met, says: "The Seats are all rail'd in; that of the Princes is an Elbow-chair at the upper-end of the Table; about which (on Chairs with backs) sits the Knighthood of Holland . . . and at the lower-end sits the Pensioner, who is Keeper of the Great Seal and Secretary, as they told us. . . The Seats of the Deputies of the several Cities are on Benches or Forms . . ."

³ Bowrey is describing the palace in the Binnenhof (see note above), an irregular pile of buildings, then surrounded by a moat. It was the residence of the Stadtholders, from Maurice of Nassau onwards. Most of the buildings in the Binnenhof have either been restored or rebuilt. See Montague, pp. 26-9, for a long description of the "Princes House" and its contents.

⁴ The Vyver (fish-pond), a sheet of water nearly in the middle of the town. See *Travels through Flanders*, etc. 1725, p. 78.

Audience. This Court belongs to the States Generall and not to the King of England but as he is Stadtholder¹.

Here is a good Markett for all Provisions. The Town well built with Brick and Stone; many Stately Houses adorned with Severall Groves and Rows of Trees, and without the Town on all sides very good pleasant Walks, the Way to Delft being about 3 Miles, being all the Way Paved with Brick and a Row of Trees on Each side².

[THE HAGUE FOR RYSWICK.]

Munday June the 20th 1698. At 1 this afternoon, having hired a Wagon to goe to Ryswick, Honslaerdyck [Honselaersdijk] and Delft for 6 Guilders [13s. 8d.], they to pay the Passage Gelt [money], which is 5½ Stivers on Every Gilder of the Hire and is for the States as a Tax³, and the best way is to bargain with the Wagoner, he to pay it. We sett out and in ½ an hour was at Ryswick, which lies ½ way to Delft, a little out of the Road, and is a small Town with a Church. About ½ a Mile from the Town is Ryswick House which has a Small Wood before it, then a Court Yard Paved with Brick, then the House which is about 250 feet in Length, 2 stories high, built with White Stone, has about 16 Rooms on a Floor; now all the Hangings down, the Ceilings indifferently Painted; behind the House is Gardens⁴.

¹ Read: "to the King of England only in his capacity of Stadtholder."

² Compare Clements, 1710-11 (*Egerton MS.* 2167, f 2 v): "Delf from whence there is a most pleasant Road planted with trees almost all the way to the Hague."

³ The rate for this road-tax was very high, 27½ per cent.

⁴ By "Ryswick House" Bowrey means the Nieuwburg, near Ryswyk, built in 1634 by Jacob van Kampen, the architect of the Amsterdam Stadhuis, for Prince Fredrik Hendrik who died in 1647. It was here that the Peace of Ryswyk was negotiated, the delegates of the contending parties being lodged in opposite wings of the building. Their prolonged occupation of the state-rooms may have necessitated taking the "Hangings down" after their departure, or it may have been decided to dismantle the place after the conference. The building subsequently fell into decay and was demolished in 1783. Bowrey's description of the Palace is fairly accurate. See Ising, *Haagsche Schetsen*, pp. 367, 372; Witkamp, *Gids voor Reizigers door Nederland*, p. 235

RYSWICK TO HONSLAERDYCK.

From Ryswick to Honslaerdyck is about 5 Miles, all the way thro a Pleasant Country, mostly Corn Grounds, is levell and lies 4 or 5 ft. above the Water. The Kings House is about 180 ft. Square, Moted round, is 2 Stories high, built Handsomly with Brick and Stone, has about 20 Rooms on a Floor; in them a great deal of good Paintings; Good furniture, fine Jars, &c., and [also] in the Late Queens Closett, which is all lined with China lacke[r]d boards and the Mantle peece Curiously adorned with Fine Red China ware. On each end of the House is a Long Court of Handsome Stables of Brick¹.

HONSLAERDYCK TO DELFT.

From Honslaerdyck to Delft is 7 Miles all along a Pleasant Country without Banks, lying above the Water. At Delft we arrived at 6 the Even. This Town is about 1 Mile Long, severall Canals thro it; is Indifferent well built with Brick; has 3 Churches². In the New Church lies Prince William the first of Orange, who was here killed by a Preist. There is his Statue in Brass with a Curious Monument of Brass Statues and Marble Pillars. Here lies 4 other Princes of the same Family³. In One of the Churches is Preaching in

¹ Hondsholredijk or Honsclaarsdijk in S. Holland was so called from the castle of Hunsel, bought in 1612 by Franz Hunsel, who had it made into a country residence. Later it became a royal residence of William III and his Queen, Mary II of England, who died in 1694.

The author of *Add. MS.* 20705 says of "Hounsleidyck" in 1691 (f. 34) that it was "the best furnished house the King hath in this Country [Holland]."

Compare *Délices des Pays-Bas*, p. 387: "A deux lieues de la Hague près de Naeldwick l'on voit la magnifique maison de Honslardick appartenant au Roi d'Angleterre, avec un beau Parc"

Montague, 1696, also has a description (pp. 52-3) of "Honslaerdyke . . . a very neat Piece of Building" founded by "Henry Prince of Orange, the Kings Grand-Father about sixty or seventy years ago" See Misson, I, 12.

² De Oude or Hypolitus Kerk, de Nieuwe or Ursula Kerk and the Chapel of the Gasthuis (Hospital). See Witkamp, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek*, pp. 159-60.

³ The monument to William I of Orange, murdered by Balthazar Gerard, a Catholic zealot, in the Prinsenhof, Delft, 10 July 1584, is in the Nieuwe Kerk in the Groote Markt. It was begun in 1616 by Hendrik de

English¹. Here is a Curious sett of China extraordinary fine². Here is the Great Magazin of the States, before which I see lye about 300 large brass Guns. Here is a East India House having about $\frac{1}{16}$ th part of that Trade³.

DELFT TO ROTTERDAM.

Munday June 20th 1698. The Track Skute goes every Hour between Rotterdam and Delft; the Price is 5 Stivers [c. 6d.]. At $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 8 the even, being the latest boat⁴,

Keyser and finished by his eldest son Pieter. The effigy is in white marble and the "Statue in Brass" is at the head of the tomb For contemporary descriptions see Chiswell, *Add. MS.* 10623, 21 March 1696; Montague, p. 20, De Blainville, i, 7-8

The Church subsequently became the burial place for all the princes of the House of Orange. Bowrey is mistaken in saying "4 other Princes of the same Family." He means four princes, including William I, the Silent, who was buried 3 August 1584 The other three, who all died at The Hague, are, Prince Maurice, buried 16 September 1625, Prince Frederik Hendrik, buried 10 May 1647, and Prince William II, buried 8 March 1651.

¹ The "Preaching in English" took place in the Chapel of the Gasthuis (see *ante*, p. 55, note 2) and up to about 1729 "two sermons in English were given on Sundays in this hospital, one at 9 a m and one at 3 p m., but since the death of the last English preacher, this practice has been given up, because the English community here has all but died out" (*Beschryving der Stadt Delft*, 1729, p. 327). The English colony in Delft seems to have been considerable in the seventeenth century, for Marmaduke Rawdon of York says (p. 107): "Delfe, a fine cleane towne, where the English company of merchants had resided for many yeares together"

² The earthenware of Delft, made in imitation of Chinese and Japanese porcelain, was celebrated throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries See Montague, p 24; Chiswell, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; De Blainville, i, 10.

³ The Arsenal, near the Rotterdam Gate at the South end of the town, and the warehouse of the Dutch East India Company appear to have formed one building Montague who notes (p 19) the "general Magazine of Warlike Stores at Delft" says that the East India Company there had "an eighth part of the Great or General Stock" See also De Blainville, i, 10, for "the beautiful Store-house belonging to the E I Co"

⁴ In 1725 (*Travels through Flanders*, etc., p. 13) the *trekschuit* between Rotterdam and Delft still went every hour from 6.0 a.m. to 8.0 p.m., but the fare at that date was only 2½ *stivers* In 1787 it was "seven sols" or about the same amount (*Tour through Part of the Austrian Netherlands*, p. 271). In Misson's "Instructions to a Traveller" (II, 317-18), there are the following remarks relating to passage boats, and their hours of starting: "The Rate of Places in the Stage-Coaches and Boats in Holland is fix'd, so that there is no occasion for contending about the Price . . . The Carriage of Baggage must be paid apart when a Passenger has more than a single Portmantle. . . . In some places as at Roterdam, Delft and The

we Embarked for Rotterdam, and in 2 hours arrived there. The Passage is on a narrow Canall. We coming to Rotterdam After 9 aclock, paid One Stiver [$1\frac{1}{8}d.$] a Man to be lett into the Gate.

[ROTTERDAM TO FLUSHING.]

Tuesday June 21th 1698. At 4 this afternoon departed from Rotterdam and at 11 night Anchored at Dort.

DORT TO FLUSHING.

Dort is Indiferent well built, has a Small exchange and Meat Markett, Is a Place of good Trade and noted for good Rhenish Wines and good Beer¹.

Wensday June 22th 1698. At Noon weighed from Dort with little wind Westerly and made our way Down the Kill with the Tide of Ebb; from thence along to Williamstadt, so to Ost Duyeland [*sic*], soe Thro by Zeland Sluce, and thence to Tergoes².

Thursday June 23. 1698. At 2 this afternoone we arrived at Flushing. We lay between the Peer heads going into the Town, which is an Inlett for Shiping to the Town of the Greatest Burthen at high water and lying afloat between the Peers at Low water. There is another inlett at the [blank] end of the Town which is Cheifly for the Men of War, and

Hague, the Boats go off every half Hour: in other parts they observe different Times of setting out; but none of them ever stay a moment after the clock strikes the appointed time of their departure."

¹ See *ante*, p. 29 and note 2. Bargrave (*Rawl. MS. C. 799, f. 95*) thought Dort or Dordrecht "a very large faire Towne, encompass'd with a Sea like River. . . which convenience makes Dort as it were the Magazene for Rhenish wine, insomuch that It and earthen wares are the chiefest Merchandize."

De Blainville (1, 21) mentions the trade in wines as well as the "Beer. . . greatly esteemed which, being very pleasant to the taste is sent through all the United Provinces, nay to the East-Indies."

² See *ante*, p. 28 for Bowrey's outward journey and the note on his route.

Compare Bargrave (*Rawl. MS. C. 799, f. 95*): "Hence [Dort] setting saile. . . with extraordinary labour and the expence of hoise to draw us against wind and Tide, we gott to the Keele [Kil], about five miles from Dort, where is a small Blockhouse and a Custome-house." On the way out Bowrey does not mention the "Zeland Sluce" It seems to be the Zand Kreek near ter Goes. See note 3 on p. 27.

there is Gates to keep them aflote¹. There is about 10 Sail belonging to Zeland from 40 to 100 Guns, 2 of 3 Decks; Most of them New Ships, 3 never at Sea; and a 3 Deck ship now on the Stocks in the States Yard at the [blank] end of the Town. There is 22 ft. water going in at the Gates of the West Dock. It flows here about [blank] foot Up and Down and the Tide runs very Strong.

The Town is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles in Compass, encompassed with a good Brick wall and a Mote; Indifferent well built; a good Stadthouse under which is the Flesh Markett and before it an Open place for a Markett². Holland Guilders and Scillings and the 2 Stiver peeces with the Lion goes here and the Single Stiver with the Lion and the Arrows, but the other Stivers which goes in Holland will not goe here³.

[FLUSHING TO ANTWERP.]

Fryday June 24th 1698. Having agreed with Arnaud Aarson, a Pilott, for 12 Guilders [$\pounds 1. 4s. 8d.$], to carry our Yaut up to Antwerp and bring us back to Flushing⁴, at 4 this afternoon we sett sayle with a fresh gale at W.No.Wt. about $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe. We stood up against the Ebbe as per my Map⁵, and at 10 night arrived at Lillo [Fort Lillo], which is on the Lar-board side going up and belonging to the Dutch, whose Dominion goes about a Mile beyond Lillo⁶. Here all

¹ See *ante*, p. 26 and note 4.

² Flushing, Dutch Vlissingen, was strongly fortified in Bowrey's day. The Stadhuis was destroyed when Flushing was bombarded by the English fleet under Lord Chatham which took part in the Walcheren expedition in 1809.

³ Mr G. F. Hill of the Coin Department, British Museum, and his friend Monsieur C. V. Tourneur of the Musée, Brussels, have kindly supplied me with the following note on Bowrey's statement. The 2 *stuiver* piece is a well-known base silver coin having the name of Holland and date on one side and the crowned shield (lion) and value 2s. on the other.

The 1 *stuiver* piece bears the representation of a lion holding a bundle of arrows. A lion holding a bundle of seven arrows was the seal of the United Provinces. See Verkade, *Muntboek der Nederl. Provinciën*, pl 56, 2; Montague, p. 31.

⁴ Bowrey apparently, however, did not go back to Flushing, but went on to Bruges and Ostend by canal.

⁵ This map has, unfortunately, not survived.

⁶ Fort Lillo was retained by the Dutch until 1839, when it was ceded to Belgium.

Vessells coming Down and going up are obliged to Stop and are Searched. Wee having no Goods had Liberty to Pass without any Charge and but a Slight Search. At 8 the Morn we weighed, being near Low water, the wind at West with Raine, stood up, and about 3 Miles above Lillo, on the Larboard Side is Marre [Fort St Marie], which belongs to the Spaniard. Here we Stopped and the Searchers came presently [at once] aboard and after a Slight Search and paying Six Spanish Stivers¹, gave us Leave to Pass for Antwerp where we arrived at 10 the Forenoone.

Saturday June 25th 1698. This Day see the Great Church which is the Cathedrall of the Diocese and in it is severall Monuments of the Bishops in Marble finely done, a great deal of good Painting and other ornaments. The Church is Large with a High well wrought Steeple, being the highest in the Citty and has Chimes in it, but they are ordinary².

Sunday June 26th 1698. This day see the Exchange which is very near the bigness of the Exchange of London and much in the same form below, with a Storie of Rooms, but not soe well adorned. The Grass Grows now without the Piazzas in the Exchange³. Near the Exchange

¹ There were no "Spanish Stivers," since Spain has never reckoned by *sous*, and the term was either invented by Bowrey to describe a coin unknown to him or was a popular term applied to a Spanish piece of money. If the latter, Monsieur C. V. Tourneur conjectures that a Spanish half-real is meant. It was almost the same size as the Dutch *stuiver*, was of silver and was worth 2½ *sous*. See Hein, *Monedas hispano-christianas*, pl. 42, 22.

² The Cathedral of Notre Dame, the building of which, commenced in the thirteenth century, occupied over 250 years. The "Monuments of the Bishops," with the exception of that of Ambrosius Capello (d. 1676), were destroyed in 1794 by the French Republicans. The "well wrought Steeple" is 402 ft. high and there are "Chimes" of 40 bells. Bowrey seems to have been but slightly impressed either with the exterior of this beautiful building or with the Rubens masterpieces in the interior. For other more appreciative descriptions see Bargrave, *Rawl. MS. C. 799*, f. 97 v; Misson, II, 306; *Délices des Pais-Bas*, pp. 92-3; *Flanders Delineated*, pp. 115-16; Essex, ed. Fawcett, pp. 40-3.

³ The Bourse, a fine Gothic structure, erected in 1531, was burned down in 1858. Penson, 1690 (*Harl. MS. 3516*, f. 36), says that it was the first Exchange to be built in Europe. The authors of *Add. MS. 18722*

is a Broad Street long and well built, called the Meer [Place de Meir]¹.

See the Jesuits Church which is built, all the Outside and Steeple, of Hewn Stone Curiously wrought. The Inside is all Marble with 2 Tire [tier] of Marble Pillars on them, a Spacious Gallery on each Side, and from the Gallery to the Ceiling 2 Tire of Marble Pillars. The Ceilings are Curiously adorned with Paintings, and in the Church many other adornments. The Church is of a Midling Size and Esteemed Justly one of the best adorned in the World².

Adjoyning is 2 sides of a Square³ (the Front of the Church making the Third) of Handsome stone buildings, Being for the Jesuits Lodgings &ca., and behind them fine Gardens.

(f. 18) and of *Flanders Delineated*, 1745 (pp 114-15), repeat the statement and the latter adds that it was the building from which Sir Thomas Gresham took his model for London.

The decline in the trade of Antwerp had set in long before Bowrey's day. Bargrave in 1652-3 remarks (*Rawl. MS. C. 799*, f 98) that the "Burse" was "capacious enough for more merchants then I perceiv'd to tread it." Penson, *op. cit*, *loc. cit* in 1690 found the trade of the City "so much decayed that the grasse grows thereon [before the Exchange] and the number of people daily resorting thither I found seldome exceeded four score or a hundred" In 1725 things were as bad: "Antwerp . . . by the want of trade it is become empty of inhabitants, insomuch that even the very Exchange is, a good part of it, covered with grass (*Travels through Flanders*, etc., p. 86)

¹ Bargrave places "the grand Tour, or the Meare, the most spatious street in the City" in his list of notable things, at Antwerp and adds that there, "as in Hideparke, are seen the moveable Gallantries of the City, in Coaches and on foot" (*Rawl. MS. C. 799*, f 97).

² The Jesuits' Church (S. Carlo Boromeo), built in the early part of the seventeenth century, was destroyed by fire in 1718 with the exception of the choir with its two side chapels. The building attracted the attention of all the seventeenth century travellers. Bargrave's quaint description in 1652-3 (*Rawl. MS. C. 799*, f. 96 v.) is worth quoting: "The Jesuits Convent, the forme whereof is a Body and two Isles, out of each whereof goes a small Chappell, one excellent for a Picture of almost all species of Fruits and Flowers, the other for its rare marble Stones in the Walls, and for a magnificent Altare. The Body and Isles are most gloriously adorn'd on every side, with beautyfull Altares and gallant Pictures. And here we heard the Church-musick, admirably good, yet somewhat too light by means of theyr giging Violins."

For other contemporary descriptions, see Resesby, p 127; Monconys, II, 102; *Add MS.* 18722, f. 17 v-18; Misson, II, 305-6; *Harl. MS.* 3516, f 37; *Délices des Pais-Bas*, pp. 93-4, *Flanders Delineated*, p 116.

³ Now called Place Conscience after Hendrik Conscience, novelist (1812-1883), whose statue is in an angle opposite the church.

See St. James Church, which is indifferent Large, has Curious Marble Altar Peeces and a Picture at the East end done by Rubens and valued highly¹.

This Citty I am told is about 9 Miles about, encompassed with a broad Moat and stone Wall, and at the Back of the Wall a Bank of Earth near 100 foot thick, on which is Planted in handsome Rows [blank] Trees, which makes very pleasant walks and is a very great accomodation to the Citty². From the said Walks is a Prospect of a Pleasant well Cultivated Country and Severall Buildings. At the South end of the Citty is a large Cittadell, the walls of Earth and low³. This Citty is mostly well built Houses of 3 and 4 Stories⁴, but many of them going to decay; the Streets broad enough but not Strait; has Severall Inletts for Vessells into the Citty. On the great gate next the River is the Figure of a Giant, which (tis said) fighting with another Giant, Cutt ofe his

¹ The church of St Jacques, begun in 1491 and not completed until 1694. By the "Curious Marble Altar Peeces" Bowrey seems to mean those of the 28 chapels constructed of marble of different colours, and by the "Picture at the East end" the Altar-piece of the Rubens chapel See Monconys, II, 107, and Essex, ed Fawcett, for descriptions

² The ramparts, built c. 1540, were removed in 1859, and the site is now covered by the various Avenues. Bargrave (*Rawl MS. C. 799, f. 97*) thought these ramparts delightful: "The City walls, of stately Stone, proppd within side with a mountaine of Earth, and deffended without by a deep trench yet cannot its Strength exceed its beauty, about $\frac{2}{3}$ of its Compass being planted with stately walkes of Trees, overlooking all the Country without and the City within, upon which the Gallants use to banquet, Sing, walke, dance, &c. In short, the walls of Antwerp, with all theyr conveniencies, are incomparably to be preferrd to any I have seen or heard of."

T. Scott, *Add. MS. 18722, f. 17*, mentions (1672) the "Curious Rowes of Elmes" with which the "walls" of Antwerp were planted. See also *Flanders Delineated*, p. 113; Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 98.

Misson (II, 303) thought the fortifications "indifferent" in 1688, but remarked on the ramparts "adorn'd almost throughout with double Alleys border'd with great Trees which make very pleasant Walks." The Citadel, built in 1567, was strong but even then "somewhat neglected."

³ The site of the old South Citadel, built in 1568, under the direction of the Duke of Alva, is now occupied by the Park of the Palais de l'Industrie

⁴ Misson (II, 303) says that the houses at Antwerp were "built partly of wood, and partly of Brick after an unusual manner, with Battlements on the Pinnacles on the tops of 'em, and very high roofs according to the common Fashion of the Country."

hand, from which this Cittys Name is Derived from Hant werp¹.

The flood here runs near 6 Hours, runs Strong and rises near 13 foot².

All Moneys goes here as at Bruges.

The River here about $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Mile broad at Low water is fresh³.

The Antwerp Ell is 26 $\frac{2}{3}$ Inches English⁴.

[ANTWERP TO DENDERMONDE]

Munday June 27th 1698. About Noone we weighed with the Flood about an hour, and the wind Westerly, made our way up the River [Escaut or Schelde]. About 9 Miles above Antwerp on the Same side, is the River [Senne] going up to Brussels. At 4 this morning arrived at Dendermond.

¹ Compare Bargrave's version of the legend connected with the city of Antwerp. Among the wonders of the place he notes (*Rawl. MS. C. 799, f. 97 v.*) "a rare piece of Iron work, standing before the Church over a well, knocked out with a hammer, by a certain Smith. . . on the topp whereof is the Statue of the Gyant Druso, who is storied to have governd all that Country when Antwerp was but a Village, about twelve hundred years agoe: and that, when the Boores [*Bauer*, peasant] deny'd or would deceive him in his demands (which was halfe of all theyr merchandise) [in return] for his protection, he cutt off theyr hands and threwe them into one of the Rivers of Antwerp. So that from *Hant* (the hand) and *Werfen* (to cast) is derivd the name Antwerp, and in memoria hereof does Drusos Figure here in Iron graspe a hand as it were throwing it away."

Bowley evidently heard a confused account of the legend, the accepted version of which is as follows: Druon Antigon, the Giant of Antwerp who levied toll from all travellers ascending or descending l'Escaut (or the Schelde) and on failure of payment cut off their right hands, was himself killed by Salvius Brabon, king of Tongres, who applied the same treatment to him and threw the severed limb into the river. As a reward, says the legend, Julius Caesar created Salvius Brabon Duke of Brabant and bestowed Antwerp upon him. See Genard, *Anvers à travers les Ages*, I, 4, where there is a full-page illustration of the giant. The legend, combined with the word *handwerpen*, to cast the hand, provided a natural derivation for Antwerp by folk-etymology, and the fact that the arms of the City consists of two hands and a castle supports this folk-derivation. The name has also been derived from *an't werf*, "at the wharf"

² The difference between high and low water at Antwerp amounts to 12-25 ft. The author of *Flanders delineated*, 1745 (p. 112), agrees with Bowrey. He says the "Scheld at Antwerp was 20 ft. deep," the "tide rising 12 ft. more."

³ The river formerly varied in width from 900 to 2000 ft. but is now confined in a channel 1150 ft. wide

⁴ On p. 44 *ante*, the Amsterdam ell is given as 27 in.

This is a Walled Town with a Mote and other outworks. I Judge it to be about $\frac{3}{4}$ a Mile in Length; Severall Churches, the Buildings but Indifferent [insignificant]¹. The River [Schelde] runs close to the Walls on the North side of the Town, over which is a Bridg of Wood, the River being here about 60 Yards broad. The Flood runs here about 4 Hours, rises about 6 foot and sett[s] indifferent [moderately] Strong. Paid here 7 Stivers [*c.* 8½*d.*] to pass the Bridg and agreed with 2 Men for 36 Stivers [*c.* 3*s.* 7*d.*] each to goe with us to Gandt² for to Track³ when we have Occasion. In the even[ing] we rowed with the Boat into Dendermonde, and at 9 night coming back, the Boom being draw[n and] I finding one of the Spikes broke and no watch theare, I halled the Boat over it⁴.

DENDERMONDE TO GANDT.

At 6 this morning [*June 28th*], being lett thro Dendermonde Bridg which is a Draw bridg but now Mending, with the Flood and wind at W.N.W. a fresh gale, we made our way upwards.

IN GHENT.

Tuesday June 28th 1698. 'This morning at 10 aclock we arrived at Ghent. 'The River [Schelde] is here and for some Miles lower about 60 ft. wide. 'The Tide rises at the lower end

¹ Dendermonde, Fr. Termonde, at the confluence of the Dendre (from which it takes its name) and the Schelde. The town was strongly fortified in Bowrey's day. The inhabitants had successfully resisted the attempts of Louis XIV to take it, in 1667, by opening certain sluices and laying the whole district under water.

² This is a curious spelling. Bowrey is using the French form, Gand, with a final "t."

³ Tracking is a term still used in England and the Colonies to express the act of towing a boat by means of men or horses (G. S. Laird Clowes).

⁴ The *Duck* was lying outside the walled town of Dendermonde. When Bowrey and his party rowed in, in their boat in the early evening, they met with no obstacle, but on their return at 9.0 p.m., they found the boom (Du. *boom*, a tree, barrier) drawn, just as the town gates would have been closed and as the mouth of Portsmouth Harbour was closed every night for more than another century, by a chain from shore to shore. The boom, however, which consisted of one or more wooden baulks, set with iron spikes so as to form a *chevaux-de-frise*, had one spike broken off, and this gave sufficient space to Bowrey to haul his very small boat over the boom, while the guard was absent (G. S. Laird Clowes).

of the Citty about 4 foot, and makes a Slack water on the flood for about 3 hours.

Wensday June 29th 1698. This day Dined with Mr. Lodowick D. Wolf, a Merchant who Trades to England and Speaks good English. Then see the Great Church which is the Cathedrall of the Diocese in which are severall Monuments of the Dead Bishops in Marble, with Much other Marble work and other Ornaments, among which 4 very larg[e] brass Candlesticks, Curiously wrought with the Arms of England on them, and were bought in England in Cromwells time. This Church is Indifferent large and dedicated to St Bavo¹.

Then see the Stadthouse, which is a Stone Building, one part of it very old and very good stone work, like Westminster Abby. The house is about 200 ft. in Length, 3 Ranges of Windows, within divided into Many Rooms for the use of the Magistrates of the Citty, of the Councell of Flanders, &c. In one Room is Severall good Picturs of Charles the 5th Empereur, who was born here; elce but Meanly adorned within side².

Then see a Nunery called the beginage, wherein is about 900 women, who only Vow Chastity soe long as they are

¹ The church of St Bavon or Sint Baafs was founded in the tenth and completed in the sixteenth century. It was made a Cathedral in 1559.

The "Monuments of the Dead Bishops" which Bowrey noticed are those of Bishops Triest, Allamont, van den Bosch, and Maes, around the High Altar, all the work of eminent artists, the finest being that of Bishop Triest by Jerome Duquesnoy (1654). See Voisin, *Gude de Gand*, p. 122.

The four massive copper candlesticks bearing the English arms were, at one time, but groundlessly, said to have come from Old St Paul's. They are, in fact, part of the decorations intended for the unfinished tomb of Henry VIII at Windsor, and were sold to Bishop Triest, as Bowrey says, during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell

See Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 43

² The old part of the Stadhuis was begun in 1481 and never completed; the newer building was constructed 1600-18. The three "Ranges of Windows" are of the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian Orders. See Voisin, *Gude de Gand*, p. 101.

Penon also (*Harl. MS.* 3516, f. 40) remarks that "Within the Stat house are good Pictures which relate the severall passages of the Emperours life &c."

Charles V was born at Ghent, 24 February 1500, in the Cour du Prince, a palace of the Counts of Flanders, of which only a gateway remains.

willing to Continue in the Nunnery; nevertheless seldom any goes out to Marry. They goe abroad when they please in the Day, but wear a habit of Distinction, and are all under a Governess, but Maintain themselves and live as they Please, all being within One Enclosure, but in severall Houses or Communities¹.

Then see the House of the Men Vowing Chastity, Whose number is a Vader or Governour and 16 Brothers. They wear a habit of Distinction, live a Monasticall life but not austere, have a Chapell neatly adorned and have a good revenue by all Burialls, it being there office to be there².

This Citty I am informed is 7 Miles about, Walled and Moated. The River Scheld runs Thro it and also the Canal from Bruges comes here into the Scheld, and some other Canalls³. The Citty is Indifferent; buildings mostly 2 stories high of Brick; the Streets broad, Paved with flat stone; a great Deal of ground near the Wall all round unbuilt; has

¹ The Grand Béguinage (Begynhof) de Ste Elizabeth, founded in the thirteenth century, then near the Porte de Bruges but transferred in 1874 to the suburb of St Anandsberg. It was one of the few nunneries not swept away by the French Revolution. See Monconys, II, 95; Essex, ed. Fawcett, p. 29. For a history of the community and the rules prescribed for its members, see Voisin, *Guide de Gand*, pp. 140-1.

² Bowrey is alluding to the Cellites (called also Bougaris or Alexandrins), an order of lay brothers (hospitallers) founded c. 1300, now united to the order of Servites. From 1459 they were under the Third Rule of St Francis. The practical activities of the Cellites were principally the care of the sick and burials. They acquired their name from the fact of the important part they played in the preparing of graves (*cellae*) during the visitation of plague in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Cellites were already established in Ghent in 1415, on the St Michael rampart, so called because it extended to St Michael's church. The communities were, as Bowrey says, generally small, sometimes as few as four to six brothers, under a father.

Diercx, *Mémoires sur la ville de Gand*, II, 238-241, describes the "petits frères ou frères Cellites" or "Alexiens" and says. "Les frères servoient les malades dans les maisons des particuliers, soignoient dans leur couvent les foux ainsi que des particuliers de moeurs déréglées, et ils faisoient les enterremens." See also O.E.D. s.v. Cellites, Herzog, *Realencyklopädie*, I, 359, art. Alexianer.

³ The estimate of the extent of the city is excessive, as it is now only somewhat over 6 miles. The author of *Flanders Delineated*, 1745 (pp. 29-30), however, gives its circumference as 14 or 15 English miles, but he includes "Fields and Gardens." The city is watered by the Schelde, Lieve and Moere and their numerous arms.

7 Parish Churches¹ and about 40 other Churches belonging to Nunerys, Monasterys, &c. Here is One English Nunnery Consisting of about 20 Nuns². The Citty and Fortifications thereof are under the Goverment of the Magistrates who are 13 Aldermen, But the Cittadell, which is on the East side of the Town and is Walled and Moated, is under a Governour put in by the King of Spain, to whome we paid 26½ Stivers as a Duty Imposed [c. 2s. 8d.]³.

Here is a Shambles or Butchery, all together indifferent well Stocked with good Veal; the Mutton and Beef but indifferent⁴. Here is Severall Markett Places, One very large, and in the midle a tall Pillar with the Figure of Charles the 5th on it Guilded⁵. Here is sometimes to be seen 150 Coaches, most Gentlemens living in the Citty and comonly Driving about the Citty from 5 to 7 in the Evening⁶.

The Ghent foot is 11 Thumbs [*duim*] or 11¼ Inches⁷.

¹ The parish churches in Ghent in 1698 were—St Pierre, St Nicolas, St Jacques, St Michel, St Sauveur, St Martin, and Notre Dame. The last named was pulled down in 1799. See Voisin, *Guide de Gand*, pp. 126–39.

² The community of English Benedictines, ladies of noble birth, under their superior Lucy Knatchbull, settled in Ghent in 1623 and obtained permission to erect their Convent of the Immaculate Conception. They remained in Ghent until the Revolution of 1793. See Dierix, *Mémoires*, II, 349–51; *Flanders Delineated*, p. 30; Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 43.

³ Up to 1714 when, by the Treaty of Rastadt, Ghent became part of the Austrian Netherlands, it was under the King of Spain, at this date Charles II, 1665–1700. After the City had thus passed into the hands of Austria a double set of customs was still imposed: "Quand on arrive à Gand avec des marchandises sujettes aux droits, il faut les déclarer à la première barrière pour les droits de Sa Majesté, et à la seconde pour les droits de la Ville" (*Le Guide de Flandre et de Hollande*, 1779, p. 12).

⁴ The Grande Boucherie (Groot Vleeschhuus) erected in the fourteenth century on the Marché au Poisson and enlarged in the sixteenth century.

⁵ The Marché du Vendredi (Vrydagmarkt). The bronze statue of Charles V was destroyed by French revolutionists in 1794. On the site now stands a bronze statue of Jacques van Artevelde. See Marmaduke Rawdon of York, p. 43.

⁶ Bargrave (*Rawl. MS.* C. 799, f. 99) comments on the wealthy inhabitants of Ghent and says that "for the most part" they "Live upon their revenues, there being very little Merchandize."

⁷ Bowrey is using the English word "thumb" to designate the Dutch *duim*. Both "thumb" and "*duim*" signify "inch" (though "thumb" in this sense has now fallen into disuse), but the Dutch *duim* is slightly longer than the English, 11 *duim* going to the foot which, as Bowrey says, measures 11½ English inches.

GHENT AND TO BRUGES.

Thursday June 30th 1698. This Noone the Sluce¹ at the Lower bridg being opened we passed up, paying 18 Stivers [c. 1s. 10d.] to the Bridg Master. These Sluces are sometimes not opened in 7 Days. Here also hired 3 Men at 24 Stivers [2s. 5d.] each to Help us Thro the Citty, being about 2 Miles to the Bridges Port². When we were gott about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile up, the Tide runing very Strong, we were put ashoare, and the water falling, we grounded. The Sluce continuing open, the Tide on the Flood did not rise enough to float us. Therefore, in the Morning at 9 a clock went to the Stadthouse to request an order for the Stopping the Sluce to raise the Water, and the Bridg Master was Ordered to doe it Tomorrow Morning at 4 aclock.

See the Office belonging to the Steel Bow Fraternity, which is near the Stadthous, but now much disused³.

Fryday July 1st 1698. This morning at 5 aclock we floated and then the Tide runing Slack we made our way up to the Bruges Port⁴ to which I Judge to be 5 Miles. When came there hired a Horse to Track us to Bruges, to give 4 Guilders [c. 8s.]. Sett out at 9 a clock. Paid at the Boom⁵ coming out at Ghent 2 Stivers [c. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.], and at the Boom at the Bruges Port 2 Stivers.

Saturday July 2th 1698. From the Bruges Port at Ghent made the best of our way up the Canall⁶ towards Bruges.

¹ This sluice, or adjustable weir for regulating the flow of water, must have had attached to it some form of lock-gate to facilitate the passage of vessels, probably identical with the "Sars or Water Gates" at Ghent, mentioned below (G. S. Laird Clowes)

² By "Bridges Port" Bowrey means "Bruges Port, Brugge Poort." See above under date 1 July. But here he says that the distance was 2 miles to Bruges Port: next day he judges the distance to be 5 miles. Perhaps he means that he was told on 30 June that the distance was 2 miles, but on 1 July found it to be 5 miles.

³ Bowrey is alluding to the headquarters of one of the many gilds of archers, etc., then in existence in Ghent and Bruges. See below, n. 3 on p. 68.

⁴ The old Bruges Gate was near the Grand Béguinage.

⁵ See *ante*, note 4 on p. 63.

⁶ "The canall [between Ghent and Bruges] is made by art, that is, it is a cutt way through the country filled with water from some litle brooks; it is eight leagues, as I guess" (*Letters from James Earl of Perth*, Camden Soc. Pub., vol. xxxiii, p. 42).

The Canall is all the Way about 60 foot broad; a great part of the Way the Banks on each side about 20 foot high. Found severall Shallow Places but 4 foot water; it is a Still water. A 9 night arrived at Bruges. It is accounted from Ghent to Bruges 8 hours Travell or 24 English Miles¹. Passed about 5 Draw Bridges paying 1 Stiver [*c.* 1¼*d.*] at each Bridge and 2 Stivers at the Boom going into Bruges.

Payed 34 Stivers [*c.* 3*s.* 5*d.*] to be lett Thro the Sars or Water Gates² into the Citty; then passing under Many Stone Bridges, the Lowest of which is [blank] foot high and thro the Citty about 1½ Miles, was lett thro the Sars at the Lower end of the Citty, paying 24 Stivers [2*s.* 11*d.*]. These are the Extraordinary rates for the Two Sars, for when they are opened for other Vessells, or at the Usual times, a Small Sum Serves. When was thro the Sars came to the Place where the Ships lyes, where found 3 English Vessells.

Sunday July 3d 1698. See in Bruges the Company of Archers consisting of about 30 Gentlemen each having an Arrow in his hand, a Buffon [buffoon, jester] with a Cross Bow³ [and] One bearing a Silver Dish and 2 Silver [blank]. Then 4 Trumpeters, then a Gentleman Mounted on a Prancing Horse bearing a Curious Flag who was the King or Victor having Won the aforesaid Plate given by the Society by hitting the figure of a Small Bird placed on a very high Pole⁴, and now going in that order thro the Citty to a Publick Dinner.

¹ That is, by canal. Mr Malcolm Letts informs me that the Ghent barge anchored in the Minnewater until 1782 and that there was a series of locks here known as Sas den seven deuren. See Duclos, *Bruges*, p. 505.

² See *ante*, pp. 21 and 23 and note 4 on p. 20.

³ Mr Malcolm Letts informs me that there were a number of Gilds of Archers and Crossbowmen at Bruges, notably the Gild of St Sebastian whose Gildhouse is still one of the features of the city. There was also a Gild of Crossbowmen, the Gild of St George, whose building occupied the site of the existing École Normale, Rue St Georges. Charles II, during his exile, was a member of both fraternities. See Duclos, *Bruges*, pp. 522, 535. The presence of a fool in the assembly was in keeping with the customs of the time, when even in the solemn procession of the Holy Blood such a character figured.

⁴ Compare the following description nearly a hundred years later, of this exhibition of skill and the way in which it was carried out at Ghent: "On St Peter's Hill close by the Church [of St Peter at Ghent] I observed a large pole, standing high in the air, at the top of which was a kind of small ladder, and on the steps several birds were placed as marks for the

[BRUGES TO OSTEND.]

Having agreed for a Horse to Track [tow] us Down to Ostend for 50 Stivers [5s.], at 2 this afternoon [*July 3d*] sett out. Paid at the Draw Bridg Just below the Citty 12 Stivers [*c. 1s. 4½d.*]. At 6 even arrived at the Sars of Ostend where was presently lett thro paying 7 Stivers [*c. 8½d.*], and 8 Stivers [*c. 9½d.*] for not having a Certificate from Bruges that I had paid for passing the Sars there. Mett a English Ship lying agrownd in the Canall laden with Portland Stone and bound to Bruges. At 8 the even gott to Ostend. Here found 5 or 6 English Coliers, 2 Men of War belonging to this Place, One of 50 Guns the other of 30 Guns, and One new Ship built for the King of Spaine [*Charles II*] of 70 Guns.

[OSTEND TO CALAIS.]

Thursday July 7th 1698. The wind having bin Westerly and blowing very hard obliged us to Stay here till this time, when being very little wind at North West, at ½ an hour past 8 this morning being Just high water, we went out of the Harbour, being Cleared by the Comptoir Master of all Port Charges, only 3 Stivers [*c. 3½d.*] to the Centinell¹, and this as being a Pleasure boat without Merchandize. Made our way along shoar to the Westward, the wind brezing up at North North West.

expert in bow-shooting. The archer who knocks the top bird off has the capital prize which is in general a cup of silver or other small piece of plate. This is an encouragement to the young men to render themselves proficient in this science. I observed that the encouragement of archery and the exercise of the cross-bow, was not confined to this place, but in general prevailed throughout the Netherlands" (*Tour through Part of the Austrian Netherlands*, 1787, p. 30).

Mr G. S. Laird Clowes tells me that this method of archery was practised as a common and popular Sunday sport in the villages round Brussels as late as the end of the nineteenth century and that he saw several of such competitions in 1895. The stuffed figure of a bird was then set at the top of a high pole, but pictures of the sixteenth century exist in Brussels showing the mark set on the top of the spire of a church. When a pole was used it was surrounded by a small pent-house, under which the archer and others could take refuge from his falling arrow.

¹ By the "Comptoir Master" and "Centinell," Bowrey appears to mean the "customs house officer" and "watchman." According to the *O.E.D.*, the term "comptoir" was usually confined to a commercial agency in a foreign country.

Fryday July 8th 1698. At 4 this afternoone, being little wind and being about 6 Miles to the Eastward of Dunkirk, where having some Concerns I went away with the Boat, ordering the Yaut to follow, and at 8 the Even returned on board right ofe Dunkirk and then sett Sayl for Calis, the wind Easterly, faint all night, lightening in the West South West, and at 5 the Morning, the wind came at West, not very Violent, but with Much Thunder, Lightning, Raine and Hail, which Continued about an houre. Then the Wind came up at North, a gentle gale. We made a Short Sayl to spend the Time till the Tide was risen to goe in to Calis, and at 8 the Morning being then about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Hours flood, we Stood in for Calis bringing the West[er]most Fort in the Sea to bear South¹, Distant $\frac{3}{4}$ a Mile, depth 4 fathom. Then stood right with the said Fort till came within about 60 or 70 Yards of it. Then Stood away with the West[er]most Peer Head, going about 40 Yards to the Eastward of it, and from thence right with the East[er]most Peer Head, and soe up along the said East Peer into the Inner Paradise², where we lye aground in saft Oaze $\frac{1}{2}$ the Tide, the least depth going in 10 ft. and that near the West[er]most Fort. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours Flood.

[CALICE TO GREENWICH.]

Saturday July 9th 1698. This forenoon at 11 aclock gott out of Calice, having paid no Tunage, but about 4 Livers [livres] other Port Charges to the Peer Master &ca.³ The wind brezing up at North, stood to the Westward. One of the Dover Packet boats⁴ sailed with us.

Sunday July 10th 1698. This afternoon the wind from the No. to Et.No.Et., gentle gales; steared No. b Wt., which considering the Tide of Ebb, I Judged would make a N.W. way, and at One a clock a Fog arose very Thick, which continued all the Day. By the aforesaid Cours at 8 Night we fell

¹ See *ante*, note 1 on p. 12.

² Le Paradis, the basin at the east end of the inner harbour.

³ On the outward voyage also Bowrey paid no "Tunage," and only 36 sous or 2s. 6d. in duties. Now he pays 4 livres or 5s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

⁴ The term "Dover Packet" survived the age of sail and persisted right nto the latter half of the nineteenth century (G. S. Laird Clowes).

in with the Light Houses on the South Foreland, and then being Flood worked along shoare to the Northward. At 10 night Calme, when Anchored $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile to the Northward of Sandowne Castle¹, being a Fog.

At 6 this Morn [*July 11th*] weighed wind Westerly, little wind. Stood to the Northward, going Thro between the Quern and the Brake². At 8 the Morn the wind came up at S.S.E., a fine gale; stood about the North foreland, finding a Hollow, deep Sea running all along from ofe Ramsgate till about the North Foreland, which I Judge to be Caused by the Two Tides of Flood meeting here from the Northward at Westward. When about the Foreland, halled up to the Westward alongst Shoare, wind at S.W. and W.S.W., fresh gales.

Munday July 11th 1698. This afternoon with the wind Southerly, easy gales, we worked against the Ebb, Thro the Narrows³, and when up with the Westermost Buoys, stood right away with the Lands End on Sheppey⁴, or rather a small matter without [slightly outside] it, going about a Mile to the Northward of it, and up that Track. About One Mile to the Eastward of the Lands end at a Low water found 7 foot, which is the Least water coming over this Flat. If find less bearing ofe to the Northward, you will depen as long as you have Oaze ground, but when you come to Sand, you come on the Spaniard⁵, and will Shoal. From thence

¹ Sandown Castle, on the east side of Deal Compare the Journal of Edward Southwell, 1696, *Add. MS.* 21495, pp. 6-7 "I went. . . to Deal . . . I rode first to Deale Castle, which was built in Henry 8. time There are 2 Castles more on the Beach, one on the ight a mile distant called Walmer Castle, another on the left at equall distance called Sandown Castle. They were built for the safety of Shippes riding in the Downs, but are very old fashion'd and of little strength."

Sandown Castle was pulled down in the eighteenth century when it became endangered by encroachments of the sea.

² See *ante*, p. 11 note 3.

³ By the "Narrows" Bowrey means the "Narrow Wall" of the *Index Nauticus* in 51° 30' N. Lat. and 0° 07' W. Long. See Map I.

⁴ See *ante*, note 4 on p. 10.

⁵ The Spaniard shoal stretches from 50° 05' N. Long. and 5° 32' E. Long. to 51° 26' N. Lat. and 0° 59' E. Long. See Map I. It is thus described in Seller's *Coasting Pilot*, c 1671, p. 9: "The Spaniard is a Sand that takes its beginning from Sheppy-Island, and runs down E. by N., until the Buoy of the Red-sand is N W. by N. from the E. end of it, a mile and a half distance: a good part of this Sand falls dry."

made our way up the River. In the Morning had the Wind at North, a fresh gale from thence Vearing to the W.N.W.

Tuesday July 12th 1698. Between 12 and One aclock this Noone wee arrived at Greenwich, for Which I give Thanks to Almighty God.

APPENDIX I

I. THE ACCOUNTS OF THE TOUR

BESIDES the *Diary* of his tour, Bowrey fortunately left behind him a record of expenses. This is contained in a small paper-covered account book, 6" \times 3½", of 22 leaves, of which only the first five are filled. On the front leaf is written: "In the *Duck* Yaut to France, Flanders and Holland: Account of Expences to be paid joyntly by Major Nath: Long and Thos: Bowrey." The book is valuable as showing how expenses were incurred by a man of means on the Continent at the end of the seventeenth century. It also gives occasional information not found in the *Diary*. For instance, we learn from these accounts that Bowrey travelled by sea in his own yacht, the *Duck*, in company with Nathaniel Long, who shared expenses with him.

The entries in the account book have been made up from notes taken on the spot, and were no doubt compiled to satisfy the two friends as to their real shares in the outlay. They show that Bowrey was a true merchant and was very precise in his accounting.

The accounts were kept and totalled in four currencies, English, French, Dutch and "Spanish," by which last term is meant Dutch money as used in Spanish Flanders. The French money was in *livres* of 20 *sols* each: the Dutch money in *guilder* of 20 *stuivers* each, the *stuiver* containing 8 *duits*: the "Spanish" money in *guilder* of 20 *stuivers*, each *stuiver* here containing 4 *oortkis*. In clearing the account, Bowrey converted it all into English currency.

Incidentally, we learn that Bowrey took with him £6. 9s. 9d. worth of stores for the sea part of the trip and that the total expense was £64. 7s. 3d. This means that the tour cost £10. 14s. 6½d. a week for two persons, which goes to prove that for well-to-do people the cost of travel on the Continent in 1698 was about as great as it was two centuries later. The details show that certain items were then much cheaper than at present and certain others proportionately dearer, and that money generally was spent on many items differing from those now demanding it.

(I) In the *Duck Yaut*¹ to France, Flanders and Holland.*Account of Expences to be paid joyntly by*MAJOR NATHANIEL LONG² and THOMAS BOWREY.

	£	s.	d
May			
Sugar Double refine 4 li ³		3	8
Candles 3 li.		1	6
Pepper and Spice		7	6
Pease 1 Peck		1	4
Beefe to Pott 17 li. at 4d.		5	8
Salt petre, Bay salt &ca.		2	0
3 li. Butter for the Potted Beef		2	3
18 li. Sugar	12	0	
4 li. Rice		2	4
2 li. Rasins			8
3 li. Currance		1	6
3 Quarts Lemon Juice		6	0
23 li. of Butter	16	6	
Pans for Butter and Baked meat		4	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ a Peck Oatmeal			7
18 $\frac{3}{4}$ li. Beef to roast		7	0
36 Oranges, 4 Lemons		4	6
3 li. Anchoves and Pott		4	6
2 Quarts Olive [oil] and Pott		3	6
1 Quart Oyl		2	6
42 li. White Biskett at 32s. per Cwt.	12	0	
28 li. Brown Do. at 16s.		4	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ a Barrell Beer	10	0	
Cards [? curds] and Soap		2	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ Peck salt			9
Sweet Hearbs and Onions			6
$\frac{1}{2}$ Peeck [peck] loaf		1	1
1 Gallypott			4
Porters and Boat hire		2	6
Lobsters and Bread at Margate		2	1
for Whiteins [whitings]		2	0
Paid Mr. Charlton ⁴ for Cockles &ca. at Calice		3	0
Paid Do. for Wages for Himselfe and Son, 46 Days at 5s. per day	11	10	0
Paid John Powell Wages at 25s. per Mo.	1	18	6
	£19	18	3

¹ For an account of Bowrey's yacht, the *Duck*, see Appendix II.² See Introduction to Part I, p. 4, for a brief notice of Nathaniel Long.³ This is clearly a list of stores laid in for use during the tour.⁴ William Charlton, who had charge of the yacht and was now sailing her for Bowrey.

(2) In Calice, per N. L. [Nathaniel Long].

	li.	So.
30 May 8 Flasks Burgundy ¹	9	12
1698 Given		7
Paid Mr. Charlton		7
Given at Nunnery ²		4
Bread		11
Fish	1	0
Sallett, Eggs, Shrimps		13
Paid at Silver Lyon ³	1	14
Given		4
Baskett		6
Given to Yauts Men	2	8
Fish	2	6

(3) Dunkirk

Paid at Sars Royall for Diner &ca.	12	0
Paid at Coffe house	1	16
Given Coach Man	1	16
Dressing Diner &ca. at the 3 Carps	7	0
Paid for Meat and Fish	5	12
Paid the Peer Master ⁴	1	16
Paper	4	0
Paid at Bruges 1½ New Crowns Boat ⁵ hire ⁵	5	8
	55	04 ⁶

(4) In Bruges

	Gu.	St.
a Ham Bacon ⁷	3	9
Paid for a Dinner	9	16
Paid for Super and lodging	3	0
For Brandy	7	0
Boat hire	1	12
	24	17

¹ This is the cost of the Burgundy, exclusive of the flask. See p. 14.² Bowrey does not say which of the nunneries at Calais he visited.³ This inn has not been traced.⁴ See p. 16, where Bowrey says he paid "Half a French Crown."⁵ See pp. 20-1.⁶ This account is shown in French *livres* of 20 *sols* each.⁷ "Ham Bacon" means a dried and smoked leg of pork, "bacon" being used in the sense of fresh pork.

(5) In Rotterdam¹

		Gul.	St.	Do. ²
June 8	For lifting the Bridg for the Yaut ³		1	0
	for Shrumps		2	0
	for Bread		10	0
	Paid our Pilott from Flushing hither	7	0	0
	4 Pints Young Hock ⁴	1	12	0
9th	For 1 Large Turbett 1 Guilder, 1 pr. long soles 18 Stiv., 1 Large Place 6 St.	2	5	4
	Spent at Coffe house		16	4
	Bread, Vinegar and Lemons	1	0	0
	Paid Mr. Charlton for what he layd out at Ostend	7	9	4
	Paid to Do. for Victualling whilst we goe to Amsterdam ⁵	11	3	0
10	paid for Dinner going to Tergau	2	2	0
	for Wagon to Tergau ⁶	7	0	0
	Given the Coach[man] or Wagoner to the Schiper for the Priviledge of the Schute Cabin ⁷ to Amsterdam		3	0
	Spent where Stopped going to Amster- dam ⁸	2	8	0
	Passage in the Schute from Tergau to Amsterdam at 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ Stivers each ⁹	3	12	0
	Coach and wheel barrow from the Schute ¹⁰	5	13	0
		2	7	0

¹ Bowrey totals accounts 5 to 8 together, and then halves them, as if he and Major Long had then settled their mutual accounts. But Part II of this Appendix shows that Bowrey paid for everything himself, having a running account with Long which was not settled till 1704-5.

² The accounts in Dutch money are made out in *gulden* of 20 *stuivers*, each *stuiver* being 8 doits (*duits*).

³ See p. 30, where Bowrey says he paid 2 *stuivers*.

⁴ By "Young Hock" Bowrey means "young" in point of age: probably wine of the 1697 vintage.

⁵ The £11. 3s. 0d. represents the cost of food, etc. for the yacht's crew when Bowrey and Long left the yacht to go by *trekschuit* to Amsterdam.

⁶ See p. 31.

⁷ See p. 32, where the term used is "After Cabin."

⁸ See p. 32, where the name of the place where Bowrey and Long stayed "to Eat a bit and Drink" is not mentioned.

⁹ See p. 32.

¹⁰ See p. 32.

(6) In Amsterdam

June 11		Gul. Stl. Do.		
	For Lemons and Oranges	5	0	
	Paid at the White Hart Ordinary at 15 St. a man Eating: 6 St. a Bed &ca.	8	18	0
	Paid Barrow man removeing Cloath ¹ to the Hoogh Dutch Bible in Warmots Stradt, Monsr. Haersma[n] ²	11	0	
13	Paid at the Dutch Bible: the rate at the ordinary Table is 25 St., for a Bed 12 St.; they find $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pint Wine to Diner: here is very good Eating and Cleen lodging	31	16	0
16	Coach hire to Mr. Faucetts ³	12	0	
	Porterage for Goods to Rotterdam Boat	7	0	
	Paid at the Dutch Bible— for lod[g]ing 6 persons 4 nights	7	4	
	1 Pint Rhenish wine	0	12	
	for Beer at 4 st. a Kan	1	14	
	for Wine at 24 st. a Flask Claret	14	10	
	for Chocolate, Coffe, &ca.	5	13	
	for Diet at 30 st. a Meal a Man	25	10	
		55	03	
		Pd. 53	3	0 ⁴
17	Coach hire to the Harlem boat	1	4	0
	Passage to Harlem at 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ Stivers ⁵	1	17	4
	Paid at Harlem	13	4	0
	Paid in the Boat to Leyden ⁶ at 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ St.	4	6	0
	At Leyden for 24 Eggs &ca.	3	15	0
	Paid in the Boat to the Hague at 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ St. ⁷	2	6	0
	Paid for Supper at the Hague	9	0	0
	Lodged at the Hague at Minheer Steegman in de Nieuwe Doelen ⁸			

¹ By "Cloath" Bowrey seems to mean "clothes." At the same time, it is possible that he took a consignment of English cloth or Indian piece-goods with him to Holland for trading purposes.

² As the Bible Hotel, this inn is still in existence, the back looking on to Warmoes-Straat.

³ On p. 42 he is called "Mr. Wm. Facet."

⁴ Bowrey evidently deducted two *gulden* or obtained that rebate on payment of ready money.

⁵ See p. 46, where the amount differs.

⁶ See p. 48.

⁷ See p. 49.

⁸ *Doelen*, a shooting gallery, is a common sign for inns in Holland. There is still a Vieux Doelen Hotel at the Hague.

(6) In Amsterdam (*continued*)

June 17	Gui. St. Do.
Paid for Wafers ¹	12 0
Given in the Palace	1 7 4
Paid at the new Doel	33 6 0
Eat well at a Guilder a Head—Ordinary bespeaking it soe ²	
Given at Ryswick	11 0
Given at Honslaerdyck	1 2 0
Paid for Wagon from the Hague to Honslaerdyck and Delft ³	6 0 4
Paid in the Church at Delft	5 4
Paid passage from Delft to Rotterdam at 5 Stivers ⁴	1 12 4

(7) Rotterdam

	Gui. St. Do.
Paid for a Large Turbett 25 St. &ca. fish	1 17 0
Paid for Washing and Scouring	7 0 0
Paid for 25 Gallons Beer at the Brewhous	4 8 0
Paid for Hung Beef at 6½ St. a <i>li</i> .	2 0 0
Paid for fresh Butter at 7½ St. per 1¼ <i>li</i> .	3 13 6
for 5½ <i>li</i> . Cheese at 4½ St.	1 4 4
Bread Eggs and Turf [peat]	2 12 0
8 Pints Rhenish Wine	3 4 0
Paid Mrs. Hysterman ⁵	12 13 0
1 Dozen Rhenish Wine	5 18 0
Paid for Coffe	1 2 0

¹ Wafers, thin crisp cakes, probably gauffrettes. No doubt the sum expended included gifts for Madam Bowrey and Madam Long.

² This seems to mean that visitors could get "pension" terms by arrangement.

³ See p. 54, where the price is stated at 6 "Guilders"

⁴ See p. 56. The amount paid, 32½ *stuivers*, seems to show that there were five travellers who paid 5 *stuivers* each, and a surcharge of 1 *stuiver* for admission after 9.0 p.m. The additional 2½ *stuivers* may have been a charge for luggage. There is no indication in the *Diary* of the names of the other three travellers accompanying Bowrey and Long

⁵ This appears to be the name of Bowrey's landlady, who was probably unconnected with the Mr Hysterman with whom Bowrey dined on 13 June in Amsterdam (see p. 38).

(8) Dort

Paid Beaconage at Dort ¹	5	4
Paid for Mutton at 5 St. a <i>li</i> .	2	15 0
Paid for Bread, a Baskett and Porter	1	10 0
Paid for 6 Gallons Beer	1	14 0
Paid Mr. Charlton for Victualling ²	6	14 0

(9) Flushing

Paid Beaconage at Midleburgh ³	6	0
Bread	4	0
Mutton at Flushing at 5 St a <i>li</i>	1	16 0
Bread and Fowls at 8 St. and strawberys	1	19 0
Mr. Charlton spent at Lillo ⁴	11	0

Dutch Money Guilders	294	12	6
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$\frac{1}{2}$	147	6	3
---------------	-----	---	---

(10) Bruges

	Gul.	St	Or. ⁵
Paid for a side Lamb	2	2	0
for 6 <i>li</i> . Mutton	1	10	0
Porter ⁶		4	0
Paid at Ostend for Bread and Cheese	1	9	0
Paid at Tergoes Beaconage ⁷		6	0
Paid at Zeland Beaconage		6	0
Paid at Marre to the Searchers ⁸		6	0

¹ Bowrey says nothing about paying beaconage at Dordrecht on either of his visits there (see pp. 28-9 and 57).

² This amount represents a further payment for maintenance of the crew of the *Duck* yacht while Bowrey and Long were travelling in Holland (see n. 5 on p. 76).

³ This beaconage was paid on 6 June (see p. 27).

⁴ This item seems to refer to 24 June (see p. 59), the only time that Fort Lillo is mentioned.

⁵ Here Bowrey uses *gulden* of 20 *stuivers*, each *stuiver* being of 4 *oortjes*. He takes accounts 10 to 15 together and calls the currency "Spanish money," i.e. Dutch money used in Spanish territory. He thus divides his journeys—from Calais to Dunkirk as in French territory, from Flushing northward as in Dutch territory, and from Antwerp to Ostend as in Spanish territory.

⁶ This entry, that under Dort above (No. 8), and that under Antwerp below (No. 11) all seem to refer to carriers and not to brown ale, to which the term "porter" was not applied until some years after Bowrey's tour.

⁷ See p. 57, diary of 22 June, where, however, nothing is said about paying beaconage.

⁸ See p. 59.

(11) In Antwerp

for Bread		3	0
for Beef at 3½ St., Mutton 5 St. a <i>li</i> .	3	18	0
Links 1 <i>li</i> . ¹ 6 St., Pease and Porter 16 St.	1	2	0
Paid Arnaud Aarson, Pilott, from Flush- ing to Antwerp ²		12	0
Beaconage at Antwerp		6	0
Bread and Pease		18	0
½ a Barrell Beer with Charges	7	2	2
a Ham Bacon at 5¾ St. a <i>li</i> .	2	19	0
Pease Beans and Cherys	1	18	2
Bread, Charcoal and Pott	1	4	2
Porters		18	2
Bread		6	0

(12) Dendermonde

Bread		12	0
for Passing the Bridg		15	0
3 <i>li</i> . Chocolate	3	0	0

(13) Ghent

about 5 Bushells Charcoal	1	17	0
Porter to shew us the Town		6	0
2 Mento Track from Dendermonde to Ghent ³	3	12	0
Bread and Cherrys		13	2
To the Governour of the Castle a fee due ⁴	1	6	2
Beef 27 <i>li</i> at 3 st.	4	1	0
Mutton 8½ <i>li</i> . at 4½ st.	1	19	0
Pease, Strawberrys, Cherrys	1	1	0
Cherrys 7 <i>li</i>		12	0
Turnups, Carotts, Salt, Bread and Pott	1	5	0
Porter 4 st., hoysting our Mast 12		16	0
26 Eggs 10 st., Hearbs and Cherrys 20	1	10	2
8 Gallons Small Beer		19	0
Bread and Beer	1	0	0
Paid the Bridg Master ⁵		18	0
To 2 Booms ⁶ at 2 st. each		4	0

¹ "Links 1 *li*." seems to mean 1 *lb*. tallow for links.

² See p. 58, diary of 24 June, for the agreement between Bowrey and Aarson.

³ See p. 63, where the journey is stated to have taken 4 hours.

⁴ This shows that the charge for seeing the castle was 2s 2½d See p. 66

⁵ See p. 67.

⁶ "To 2 Booms" here means "for the opening of two booms" to allow passage to the yacht. These timber booms, armed with iron spikes, like those mentioned on p. 63, were set at certain places on the canals, particularly at the outskirts of cities, in order to prevent the circulation of boats when the booms were closed, as was usual at night. The two booms referred to are those "coming out of Ghent" and "at the Bruges Port," p. 67 (G. S. Laird Clowes).

(13) Ghent (*continued*)

Paid Mr Charlton		6	0
3 Men to help us to the Bruges Port ¹	3	12	0
To Do. to Drink		6	0
To a Horse from Ghent to Bruges ¹	4	0	0
To Severall Bridges at 1 st. each ¹		6	0

(14) Bruges

For Beef at 3½ st. a <i>li.</i> , Mutton at 5 st. a <i>li.</i> , Candles and Bread	7	9	0
Passing the uper Sars at Bruges ¹	1	14	0
Passing the lower Sars at Bruges	1	4	0
Milk		3	2
Given hoysting in our Mast ²		12	0
Bread		9	0
Passing a Bridg		12	0
a Horse from Bruges to the Sars ¹	2	10	0
Given to the Man		7	0
Passing the Sars of Ostend		7	0
Paid at Do. for not having a Certificate from the Sars at Bruges ¹		8	0

(15) In Ostend

	Gul.	St.	Or.
Given to Men to help at the Sars ³		3	0
Bread		12	0
14 Mackrell 10 St., Caratts 2½		12	2
2 <i>li.</i> Cherrys		8	0
4 Ducks	1	8	0
1 <i>li.</i> Chocolate	1	0	0
Bread and Cups		11	2
Given the Runner	1	4	0
Paid a Caulker 2 <i>d.</i> English	1	0	0
2 Lemons		4	0
Smelts, Pease, Onions		18	2
Bread, Beer and Cheese		19	0
Wine and Beer	1	2	2
Butter, Bread and Turnips	1	12	0

¹ See pp. 67-9.² "Given hoysting in our Mast." The mast of the *Duck* yacht was stepped on a pivot in the tabernacle, so that it could be lowered on deck when it was necessary to pass under a fixed bridge. The 12 st. was paid for additional men needed to help the very small crew in hoisting it again, for the *Duck* probably carried no winch or windlass (G. S. Laird Clowes).³ The yacht had to be towed through the locks, so again additional labour was required (G. S. Laird Clowes).

(15) In Ostend (*continued*)

	Gui.	St.	Cr.
Vinegar, Bread, Beer	1	1	0
Beer		12	0
Given to the Sentinell ¹		3	0
T. Bowrey Expended Spanish Money ²	103	01	02
M. Long Expended Spanish Money	24	17	0
Totall Expende of Spanish Money	127	18	2
The halfe is	63	19	1

(16) In Dunkirk³

	Ll.	So.
Bread, Beer, Fouls	4	18

(17) In Calice

Pilot boat 20 So., 2 Runletts [casks] 28 So.	2	8
Mutton at 6 So. a <i>li.</i> 2	2	17
Clearing at Custom hous, &ca. ⁴	4	1
Given boy 10 So., Beer and Bread 26	1	16
T. B. Expended French Money	16	00
N. L. Expended French Money	55	4
Totall Expende of French Money	71	4
The halfe is	35	12

(18) [Expenses in English Money]

	£	s.	d.
Totall expences in England ⁵	19	18	3
In Holland	26	15	6
In Flanders	12	16	0
In France	4	17	6
Totall Charge of the Voyage	64	7	3

¹ See p. 69.² By "Spanish Money," as above noted, Bowrey means Dutch money in Spanish territory.³ At this point the account starts again in French money⁴ See p. 70, where Bowrey says he paid "about 4 Livers" to the "Peer Master."⁵ Bowrey has now converted, at the exchange of the day, the various currencies he had used into English money, so as to square accounts with his friend.

2. BOWREY'S ACCOUNTS WITH LONG

Bowrey has left a paper endorsed, "Accots. with Coll. Long to 1704/5," but in the body of the document Long is throughout styled "Ma. Long." This paper contains four balanced accounts and three memoranda, and is really a series of memoranda of Bowrey's accounts with Long while the legal proceedings between them, already alluded to, were pending. Except the last memorandum, all the accounts relate, in part, at any rate, to the journeys in France, Flanders and Holland.

None of the entries is dated, but they are all concerned with mutual financial relations. No. 1 has a new item of expenditure at a goldsmith's in Amsterdam. No. 2 includes a purchase of lace for "Madam Long." No. 3 is concerned chiefly with the purchase of wine at "Calice," no doubt as merchandise. The friends also bought "3 Pr. Gloves" for "2 *livres*, 14 *sols*."

All the accounts but one balance in Long's favour, and the note added to No. 4 seems to infer that Bowrey still owed Long £1. 12s. 7d on this account, or else that Long accepted a discount of 2 per cent. on settlement by "Noat."

[No. 1]

Ma: Long, Dr.	Gu. St.	Pr Contra, Cr.	Gu. St.
Pd. in Amsterdam at the		Recd. in Amsterdam	100 00
Goldsmiths	20 00		20 00
At Mr. Speis	10 00		27 10
In Rotterdam	27 10		27 10
Returned at Antwerp	3 00		5 10
Halfe the Expences in			3 00
Dutch Money ¹	147 6	Recd. at Flushing	9 17
	207 16	Recd. of Mr. Hysterman	600 00
Due to him to Ballance	585 11		
	<hr/> 793 07		<hr/> 793 07

[No. 2]

Ma: Long, Dr. in Spanish	Gu. St.	Pr. Contra, Cr.	Gu. St.
Money			
Pd. for Madm. Long for		Recd. of him	18 00
3 Ps. Lace	12 1	Recd.	5 08
To his half of Expences in		By Money Expended	24 17
Spanish Money	63 19		<hr/> 48 5
		Due to Ballance	27 15
	<hr/> 76 00		<hr/> 76 00

¹ See p. 73.

[No. 3]

Ma: Long, Dr. in French Money	Ll. So.	Pr. Contra, Cr.	Ll. So.
For 34 bottles Clarett qt.		Pd. by him for Clarett and	
14 Potts at 23 so	16 2	Burgundy 2 Guineas is	32 00
1 Grt. bottle Manta ¹ qt. 9		Pd. by him and left at	
Potts [at] 28	12 12	Calice	21 12
12 Flasks Burgundy qt. 5 ⁵ / ₈		Pd. by him for the Manta	
Potts at 44 so.	12 7 ¹ / ₂	Wine	56 00
12 Flasks at 3 so each	1 16	Pd. & Expended	55 4
1 Grt bottle qt. 10 Potts			
Brandy at 29 ¹ / ₂ so.	14 15		
1 stone bottle 26 so. 6			
Potts Vinegar at 10 so.	4 6		
3 Pr. Gloves	2 14		
5 Quarts Manta Wine	3 6 ¹ / ₂		
To half of the Expences in French Money ²	35 12		
	<hr/>		
	103 11		
Due to Ballance	61 5		
	<hr/>		
	164 16		164 16

[No. 4]

Ma. Long Dr.	£ s. d.	Pr. Contra, Cr.	£ s. d.
Pd. him One Pistoll	17 6	Recd. of him at Dunkirk	
Pd. him at Play ³		and Calice 10 Guineas	⁴ 11 0 0
To 27 Gu. 15 St. Spanish money at 9 Gu to a Pistoll or 17s. 6d. Engh Money is	2 14 0	By 585 Gu 11 St. in Holland at 35 Stu pr. Exchange and 5 pr. Cent. Bank on 105 is	53 2 2
To ¹ / ₂ of Men's Wages &ca.	9 19 1	By 61 ¹ / ₂ 5 So. in French Money at 16 ¹ / ₂ to 22 shillings	4 4 2
	<hr/>		
	13 10 7		
Due to Ballance	54 15 9		
	<hr/>		
	£68 06 4		£68 6 4
The Ballance	54 15 9		
Noat	53 2 2		
	<hr/>		
	1 13 7		

Pd. Mr. Bignoll on account Tobacco bought of him as by an award, with other Law Charges	£ s. d. 9 17 6
Major Long ¹ / ₈ Part of said Award &ca. is	<hr/> 1 12 11

¹ Mantua, Northern Italian wine.² See p. 73.³ Scored out in the original.⁴ Reckoning the guinea at 22s. On pp. 14, 23, 31, 44 the exchange is shown as 22s 2¹/₂d., 22s. 10¹/₂d. and 24s., and on p. 360 as 21s. 6d.

APPENDIX II

PAPERS AND ACCOUNTS RELATING TO THE *DUCK* YACHT, 1690-1707

THE accounts connected with the *Duck* cover the period 1690-1707, and from them and also from two other documents we can learn a fair amount about her. There is an agreement between Thomas Bowrey and John Freame, both described as of Wapping, dated 14 July 1690, by which the latter is to build the hull of a vessel for the former for £65, but in reality it cost £90. Then, on 6 February 1690/1, the two entered into another agreement by which Freame sold the hull of "*The Duck of London*" to Bowrey for the sum above mentioned. The yacht was 29 ft. by the keel and 9 ft. broad, and was "of the burthen of about Fourteen Tonns." Consequently, according to the tonnage formula then employed (tonnage = the product of length by the keel, breadth and depth, divided by 94), her depth from deck to bottom planking must have been about 5 ft.

I have printed only a summary of the sixteen accounts concerning the yacht, found among Bowrey's papers, and have only noted the five entries regarding her in his private account book. From these it would appear that Bowrey was interested enough in her construction to pay bills for her at least three weeks before his agreement with Freame was drawn up. By 1695 he was paying William Charlton for the care of her, and thenceforward the caretaker's wages were £4 a year, while Charlton's bills show that the expenses for her maintenance were very small: e.g. in 1702 the painting bill was £1. 10s. 0d. and in 1704 it was £1. 15s. 0d.

Points of some interest arise out of the bills. On 20 November 1702 Bowrey paid Gabriell Garrett, a carpenter, 17s. 10d. for a bill dated 12 May 1699. On the back of this bill is an account to some one else for burial expenses, so the carpenter seems also to have been an undertaker. Bowrey was not as a rule anything like so long in defraying his bills. On 10 March 1702/3 Robert Hasswell sends an account for £4. 10s. 0d. for "A voige in to the Dounes and back to London in the *Duck*." On 29 January 1704/5 Charlton is paid for the pilotage of the *Mary Galley* to Gravesend in the previous autumn.

Bowrey made the yacht pay him handsomely, for, despite the smallness of her cost and running expenses, he got £2. 0s. 0d. for

letting her out in 1704, and in his private account book is an astonishing entry in 1705/6: "Paid by Marquis of Carmarthen for Services of my Yaut, 109 Days, £109. 0. 0." Shortly after he must have decided to part with the *Duck*, for on 1 March 1707 is an entry: "Received of Mr. Tourney in part of my Yaut £50. 0. 0." and on 15 March: "of Ditto in full £15. 16. 0.; [total] £65. 16. 0." With two later entries, in April and October 1707, for small amounts paid to Charlton and to John Wade, carver, the extant accounts come to an end.

Lastly, there is one delightful little letter, without year, in connection with the *Duck*, written to Bowrey by Lytcott Long, no doubt a son of Col. Nathaniel Long, Bowrey's companion in his trip to the Netherlands in 1698:

London, Decr. 16:

Capt. Bowrey—my father Shewd me your Letter wherein you have ordered me the care of your yatt, which j will be shure to do, and make much of my leftenant [lieutenancy, delegated authority] till j se you again; and the next time you goo to sea you have promiseed to take me with you and I rely on you that you will be as good as your word. I am Sir, your humbell Sarvant to Command,
LYTCOTT LONG.

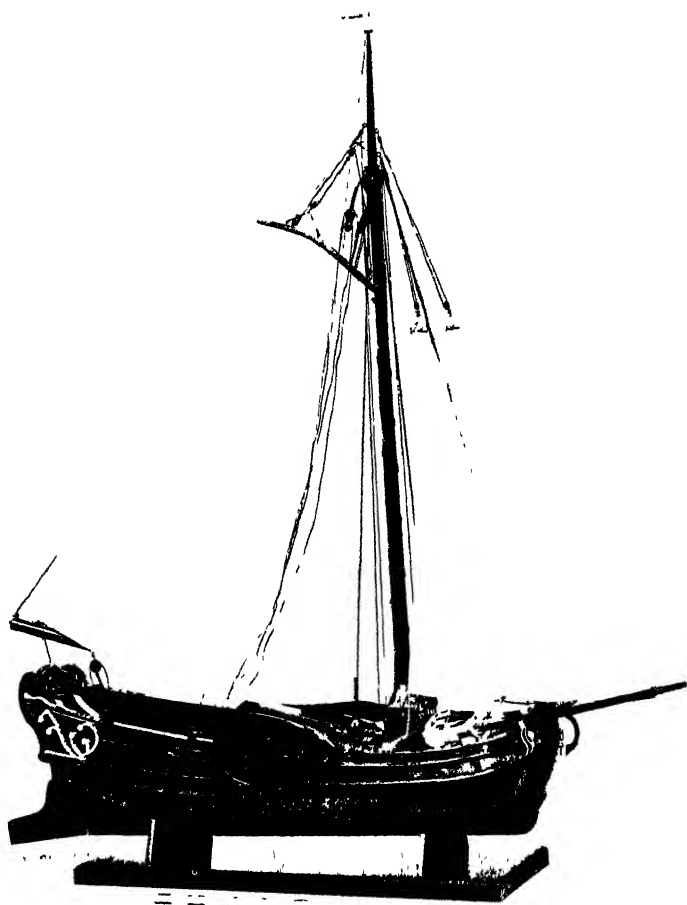
Note on Yachts and Yachting in the Seventeenth Century, with special reference to Bowrey's Yacht, the *Duck*.

Supplied by MR G. S. LAIRD CLOWES.

The first yacht known to have existed in England was the naval yacht *Minion* of 22 tons, which figures in Pepys' *List of the Royal Navy at the time of the Restoration of Charles II*.

In 1660 the Dutch East India Company presented the King with the *Mary* yacht of 100 tons, and a year later Charles also received from the Dutch the much smaller *Bezan* yacht of 35 tons. Yachting became so popular with the King and his brother the Duke of York, the Lord High Admiral, that by 1686 twenty-six yachts of various sizes had been acquired by the Navy, while many other smaller yachts were owned by the nobility and gentry.

The *Duck* yacht would appear to form a good example of these smaller privately-owned yachts, and it is interesting to find that her dimensions and tonnage (14 tons) correspond very closely with a late seventeenth century contemporary model of a small yacht of 12 tons which is preserved among the Collection of Ship-Models at the Science Museum. This model (see Illustration No. 5)



Photographed at the Museum

MODEL OF A LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY YACHT

In the Science Museum, South Kensington, corresponding almost exactly with the specifications of Bowrey's yacht, the *Duck*, in which he made his tour to the Netherlands in 1698

probably gives the best idea now obtainable of the details of the *Duck* yacht. It shows a vessel of the rather full Dutch type, but differing from all ordinary small craft of the period in having a high square stern, somewhat like that of a small man-of-war of the period, except that the spaces between the uprights are not filled in with glass.

Internally, the forward half of the vessel is decked, while there is a well aft, which contains seats along each side. At the forward end of the well a double door, with a slightly hooded roof, opens down three steps into a small cabin amidships, which no doubt contained at least one bunk along each side. This cabin however was only 8 ft. by 8 ft. and nowhere more than 5 ft. high, so that it is well described as a "Denn" (Appendix II, Paper 1). Aft of the well is placed a locker under a low deck.

Although there is no beak or figure-head, the stern is highly decorated with scroll work. As the vessel only draws about 3.5 ft. of water, she is fitted with a large lee-board on each side which could be lowered by a tackle when she was beating up against the wind. The one tall and very solid mast is stepped on a pivot in a tabernacle, which explains the item "hoisting in our Mast" after passing under a bridge on p. 81. The mainsail is of the Dutch bezan type, introduced into England with the above-mentioned *Bezan* yacht, so frequently used by Pepys, a form of almost triangular sail, with a very small gaff, which had become popular for small vessels, as it still is in Holland to this day. There is also a foresail set on the fore-stay and a jib on a short bowsprit. A longer bowsprit with a small flagstaff at its extremity was also common.

The *Duck* Yacht.

[1. *The building of the hull for BOWREY.*]

Articles of Agreement Indented had made concluded and fully agreed on this fourteenth day of July Anno Domini 1690 ~~Between~~ Thomas Bowrey of Wapping in the County of Middlesex Mariner of the one part and John Freame of Wapping in the County of Middlesex aforesaid Shipwright of the other part in manner and forme following (that is to say):

IMPRIMIS the said John Freame (for the consideration herein after mentioned) doth covenant promise and agree to and with the said Thomas Bowrey by these presents, That he the said John Freame his Executors Administrators Servants workemen or Assignes shall and will Erect build and finish as hereinafter is mentioned one

Yacht¹ or Vessell (that is to say) to be in Length by the Keele twenty nine foot to be in Breadth from outside to outside Nine foot the Rake of the stern to be two foot and halfe and the Rake aft to be one foot three inches

The floar timbers² to be at the ronghead in and out three inches and halfe³; to be sided⁴ four inches

To have one Wale on each side, To have futlings⁵ and Riseings⁶ within board [on the inside], To make A Denn⁷ in the Midships to be compleately finished with Joyners and painters worke

To finde and provide all stuff [material] and workemanship in every respect for the compleate finishing the said Yacht or Vessell with Shipwrights, Joyners, Painters, Smiths, and Caulkers worke, and Carvers worke⁸ to the Hull of the said vessell and to Launch the said vessell into the River of Thames within two months from the date hereof. To finde one sute of Masts⁹ to the said vessell

IN CONSIDERATION whereof the said Thomas Bowry for himselfe his Executors and Administrators doth covenant and promise to and with the said John Freame his Executors Administrators or Assignes by these presents to pay or cause to be paid unto the said John Freame his Executors or Assignes the full Summe of Sixty five pounds, lawfull English money in manner following (that is to

¹ The term "yacht" had been introduced into England some thirty years before to represent the Dutch *jagt*, a pleasure vessel, from a root signifying hunting or the chase.

² For explanations of these terms see the notes by Mr G. S. Laird Clowes in Part II, Paper 1.

³ That is, to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick in a direction at right angles to the length of the yacht and 4 in. thick in a direction parallel to that length (G. S. Laird Clowes).

⁴ "To be sided four inches," i.e. to be 4 in. in the direction contrary to the moulding.

⁵ "Futlings," foot-waling, for which see Part II, Paper 1.

⁶ "Riseings." "The halfe Decke and quarter Decke, whereon the beames and timbers beare are called risings" (Smith, *Seamans Grammar*, 1627, II, 6). On this Mr G. S. Laird Clowes remarks: "The 'Riseings' here refer to the partial deck which extended from the bow to the cock-pit aft and which covered the 'Denn' or cabin, and possibly also to a very short deck between the cock-pit and the stern."

⁷ Considering that the cabin cannot have been more than 8 ft. square nor, excepting just at the entrance, more than 5 ft. high, the term "Denn" is singularly apt. It was probably only used for sleeping accommodation (G. S. Laird Clowes).

⁸ Carvers are not mentioned as employed on the *Mary Galley* (see Part II, Papers of Construction). It was by the abundance of carvers' work that yachts of this period were distinguished from other small craft. The decoration of ships was then at its height and a yacht carried, for its size, even more carvings than did a man-of-war (G. S. Laird Clowes).

⁹ "One sute of Masts." This expression would include yards or other spars and does not necessarily imply that the *Duck* had more than one mast (G. S. Laird Clowes).

say) Thirty pounds part thereof now in hand at or before the en-sealing and delivery hereof and the remaineing Summe of Thirty five pounds in full, within two dayes next after the compleate finishing the said Vessell according to the true meaning hereof

IN WITNES whereof the said parties to these Articles have Interchangably sett their hands and Seales the day month and yeare first above Written

To be burthed¹ without board [on the outside] from the Keele to the topp of the side with one inch Board

JOHN FREAME

Sealed and Delivered in the presence of

WM PAGE, scrivener, neare Wapping Dock
REGINALD BUCKNALL, his servant.

[Endorsed]: Received the day month and yeare within written of and from the within named Tho: Bowyer the Summe of Thirty pounds being the first payment within mentioned I say received £30.

JOHN FREAME

January the 13th 1690/91: Then Received More in part, twenty pounds per JOHN FREAME

2. *The sale of the hull to BOWREY.*

26 February 1690/1.

TO ALL PEOPLE to whome this present writing shall come I John Freame of the Parish of St. Mary Matfellow att Whitechappell² in the County of Middlesex Shipwright send greeting KNOW YEE That I the said John Freame for and in Consideration of the Summe of Fower Score and Tenn pounds of lawfull money of England to mee in hand paid by Thomas Bowery of Wapping in the Parish of St. Mary, Whitechappell² in the County of Middlesex aforesaid Maryner The Receipt whereof I doe hereby acknowledge and my selfe therewith fully satisfied and thereof and of every part thereof doe clearly acquitt and discharge the said Thomas Bowery his Executors and Assignes by these presents HAVE granted bargained sold And by these presents doe grant bargain and sell unto the said Thomas Bowery his Executors Administrators the hull or body of ALL that Yatch or Vessell called the *Duck* of London of the burthen of about Fourteen Tonns now riding at Anchor in the River of

¹ "Burthed" here means "planked." Cf. Sutherland, *Shipbuilders Assistant*. "Birthing; the working up of a Ship-side or Bulk-head, etc."

² The districts of Whitechapel and Wapping, in the seventeenth century, were both included in the parish of Stepney, in which Bowrey was residing, and Wapping was a hamlet of St Mary, Whitechapel. See H. B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, III, 444.

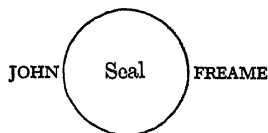
Thames in the port of London, TO HAVE HOLD and enjoy the said Yatch or vessell or Hull unto the said Thomas Bowery his Executors Administrators and Assignes forever To his and their owne proper use and behoofe forever

AND I the said John Freame for mee my Executors and Administrators doe Covenant grant and agree to and with the said Thomas Bowery his Executors Administrators and Assignes by these presents as followeth *Vizt.*

That the said Hull Yatch or Vessell now is and soe at all times hereafter shall be remaine and Continue unto the said Thomas Bowery his Executors Administrators and Assignes free cleare and clearly acquitted and discharged or by mee my Executors and Administrators sufficiently Saved harmless and indemnified of for and from all and every former and other grants bargaines Sales guifts Debts troubles titles charges and incombrances whatsoever had made committed done or suffered by mee the said John Freame or any other person or persons whatsoever by my meanes right title interest privity default consent or procurement

AND ALSO That I my Executors and Administrators the above bargained premises and every part thereof unto the said Thomas Bowery his Executors Administrators and Assignes against all people shall and will Warrant and forever defend by these presents

IN WITNESS whereof I the said John Freame have here unto sett my hand and Seale Dated the Twenty Sixth day of February Anno Domini 1690 And in the Third year of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary (by the grace of God) King and Queene of England



Received the day of the date within written of the within named Thomas Bowery the sume of Fower Score and Tenn pounds Sterling being the Consideration sume of money within mentioned I say Received £90. JOHN FREAME

Witness:

William Glen

Alex: Bower

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

William Glen

Alex. Bower

[Endorsed]: Mr. Freames Bill of Sale to Mr. Bowery of the Hull or Body of the ship or Vessell called the *Duck* of London.

Summary of the Accounts relating to the *Duck* Yacht

1690-1707.

- (1) 5 February 1690/1. Paid John Harris for "worke don... on board of the ayett" and for stores, £1. 9s. 5d.
- (2) 24 January 1694/5. Paid William Charlton for services and expenses, £5. 14s. 10d.
- (3) 9 November 1700. Paid Stephen Hooch, by William Charlton, on behalf of Thomas Bowrey, for stores, £2. 6s. 0d. The bill was £2. 8s. 1½d.
- (4) 30 June 1701. Paid William Charlton for services and expenses, £5. 0s. 0d.
- (5) 31 Dec. 1701. Paid William Charlton for services for the year 1701, £4. 0s. 0d.
- (6) 12 March 1701/2. Paid Ditto for expenses, £1. 8s. 5d.
- (7) 7 May 1702. Paid John Miles, "Joyner," for joinery work, £1. 3s. 6d.
- (8) 13 July 1702. Paid Samuell Nicks¹ for painting the "Yot," £1 10s. 0d.
- (9) 20 November 1702. Paid a bill dated 12 May 1699 to Gabriell Garrett, carpenter, 17s. 10d. On the back of this paper is an account with another party for burial expenses.
- (10) 10 March 1702/3. Paid Robert Hasswell, for "A voige in to the Dounes and back to London in the *Duck*," £4. 10s. 0d.
- (11) 13 March 1702/3. Paid William Charlton for care of the yacht for 1702 (£4. 0s. 0d.) and stores (9s. 6d.), £4. 9s. 6d.
- (12) 28 March 1704. Paid Ditto for care of the yacht for 1703, £4. 0s. 0d.
- (13) 2 December 1704. Paid Albert Kam¹, painter, £1. 10s. 0d. The bill was for £1. 15s. 0d.
- (14) 29 January 1704/5. Paid William Charlton for pilotage of the *Mary Galley* to Gravesend², services in the "Yaut" 1704 and expenses, £9. 13s. 0d.
- (15) 1704. Bowrey received £2. 0s. 0d. for letting out the yacht³.
- (16) 31 December 1705. Paid William Charlton for services, £4. 0s. 0d.
- (17) January 1705/6. Paid for services and expenses, £6. 0s. 0d.
- (18) 1705/6. "Paid by Marquis of Carmarthen for Service of my Yaut, 109 days," £109. 0s. 0d.

¹ Samuel Nicks, or Nix, and Albert Kam were again employed by Bowrey for work on the *Mary Galley* in 1704. See Part II, Paper 20.

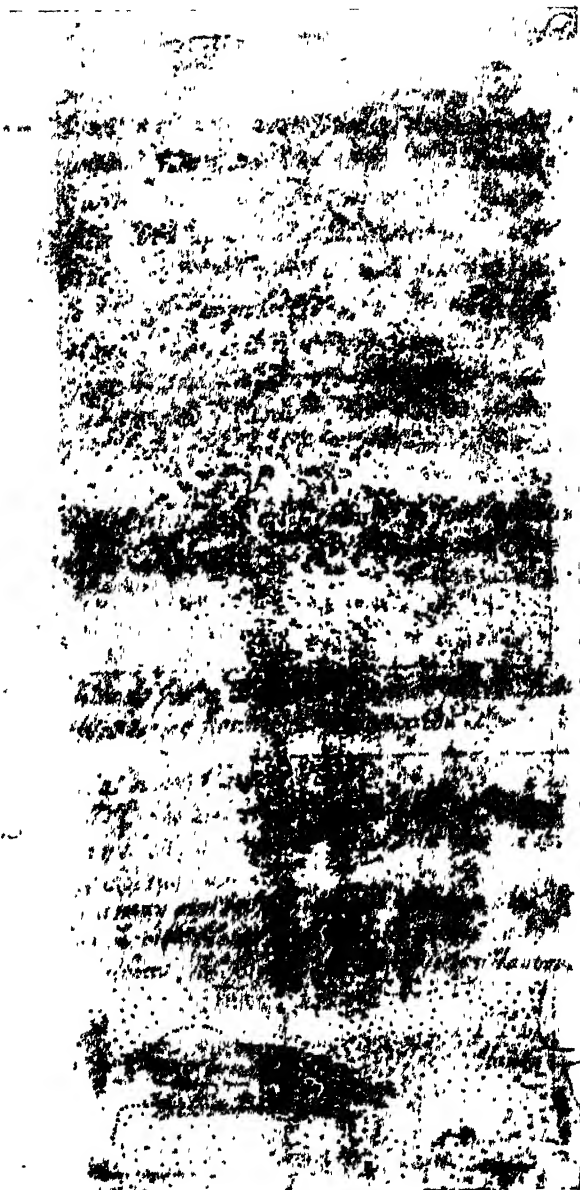
² This was in October 1704. See Part II.

³ This item and the four following (Nos. 16-19) are taken from Bowrey's Private Account Book.

- (19) 1 March 1706/7. "Received of Mr. Tourney¹ in part of my Yaut," £50. os. od., 15 March of Ditto in full £15. 16s. od.,
£65. 16s. od
- (20) 8 September 1707. Paid William Charlton for services in
1706, and expenses, £5. 10s. od.
- (21) 27 October 1707. Paid John Wade, carver, for "Carved
Worke don for the *Duck* yatch²," for a bill rendered
£1. 2s. od., 18s. 10d.

¹ Perhaps the "Anthony Tournay" who supplied "Iron hoops" for the *Mary Galley* in 1704 (see Part II, Paper 15).

² See note 8 on p. 88.



Photographed by Donald Macbeth

SPECIMEN PAGE, FULL SIZE, OF THOMAS BOWREY'S SAILING
DIRECTIONS, 1694-1701, AS TREATED FOR DECIPHERMENT

APPENDIX III

THOMAS BOWREY'S SAILING DIRECTIONS ABOUT THE MOUTH OF THE THAMES 1694-1701

- i. *Directions along the Essex Coast.*
- ii. *Directions along the Kent Coast.*

THE twenty-two short sailing directions printed below, eighteen for the Essex coast and four for the Kentish coast, were drawn up by Bowrey at different times during the years 1694 to 1701, when he was cruising in his yacht, the *Duck*. They belong therefore to periods both before and after his tour in the Netherlands.

The notes, as stated in the Introduction to Part I, are found in the same small volume as the *Diary* and several of the pages have been badly damaged by sea-water, as shown by the specimen reproduced (Illustration No. 6).

These sailing directions are for very small vessels, such as were common in the seventeenth century, and are valuable as being made from Bowrey's personal experience. They are rendered still more important by his admirable little sketches of harbours, etc., and by his detailed chart which has been reproduced to explain his descriptions.

Among points of interest that occur among the directions, there is a reference to the then existing blockhouse on Mersea Island, and remarks on the oyster fishing of the Essex coast which apply to the present day. The spelling of Brightlingsea (Bricklesea), too, shows that the local pronunciation is a survival from, at any rate, 250 years ago.

Naturally, some of the landmarks, such as trees, buoys, etc., are no longer identifiable, but the directions, as a whole, are so accurate, that, in the neighbourhood of the Crouch, at any rate, I am informed by a Burnham resident, they would serve for a yacht in the year 1925. These sailing directions have, moreover, a very special interest for yachtsmen, since they were compiled within about forty years of the introduction of yachting, or sailing for pleasure, into England.

[*Directions along the Essex Coast.*]

1. Going into Lee [Leigh] at Low Water.

Stand down about a Cables length to the Eastward of the Mast and then about the same distance into the shoare, you will see a Beacon which stands also right ofe without the Windmill. Then stand about a Cables length more to the Eastward of the Beacon, at which distance from the Beacon then right in with the Shoare, in which oazing you will goe over the Point of the Sand stretching down from Canvey Iland in 5 foot; and when you come within $\frac{1}{2}$ a Cables Length of the shoare then you will find the water depen, which is the Chanell; then keep up with the Beacon going to the Northward of it.

About 40 Yards from thence stand right away with Lee Towne, which Carryes you in the Chanell, in which is about 6 foot at the Entrance, that is without the Beacon, and then 8 or 9 foot. And for the better knowing the Chanell, noat that all the way up on the Main side it is Oaze, and on the sand side hard sand, and the Main shoalds gradually, the sand Suddenly. When you are within about $\frac{3}{4}$ [of] a mile of the Town, then you will come to Beacons, which you must keep betweene, and near along by the southmost range is the best Chanell. And when you come to the last Beacon next the Towne, stand right away with the Eastmost Key [quay], for the ofe side is free. But noat, you cannot come up by the range of Beacons to Lee Town till $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ flood¹.

If bound to green Shoar end², which is the Eastmost point of Canvey Iland, when you are come up the Chanell near to the first Beacon of the range, which is a bushy Beacon, then stand right away with Green shoar end and Anchor a little to the Westward of the Point near the Iland, being $1\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at low water.

Noat: the aforesaid outer Beacon stand[s] about [blank] miles to the [blank] from Lee Town.

2. Going into Lee [Leigh]; the Moon 12 days old.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe went over the sand, about a good stones throw from the Green shoar end; had 7 foot water. The water was fallen at least 4 foot by the Pitch of the Green shoar end, which Just covers at a spring tide.

Noat: the sand stretches away from Green shoar end strait along shoar to the Eastward, and lyes higher farther to the Eastward.

¹ The approaches to Leigh and the creeks inside Canvey island are through narrow, shallow channels called the Slade and Ray Gut, having a common entrance marked on its western side by the Leigh buoy. See *North Sea Pilot*, Part III, 1897, p. 356.

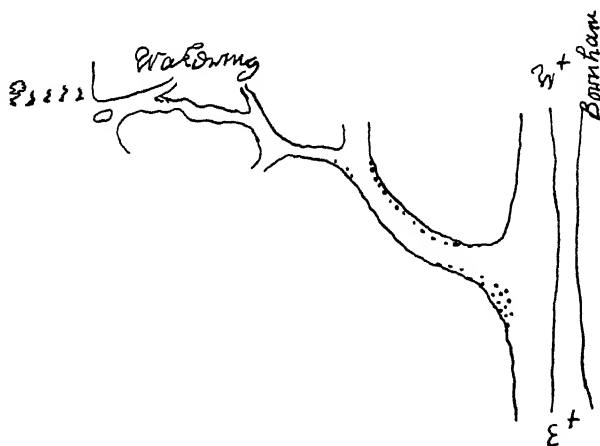
² "Green Shoar end" seems to represent Canvey or Leigh Middle Spit, about a mile from Leigh, on the opposite side.

Stand in right a Thwart the sand, and when over, stand about 2 points to the Eastward [of] Lee Town, which will bring you to the first Beacon of the range; then stand as before Directed.

The Oysters lye in the Chanell from without the Beacon by the Windmill¹, almost up to the first Beacon of the Range, which is above 2 miles in Length.

3. Going over the sand² into Wakering and thence to Bornham [Burnham] water³: Moon 16 days Old.

Put on to the sand right against Shoeberry Church⁴; stod into the Shoar right with the Church; at 3 hours flood had 7 foot. Came



within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of the shoare; shoald to 6 foot; then stood along shoar to the Eastward, edging a little ofe; and when was about a mile to the Eastward of Shoebury, then see the ofemost Beacon of Wakering, being a Bushy Beacon; and when first see it, made about $\frac{1}{2}$ a point open without Foulness Point; then stood away, keeping the said Beacon about a Point open on our Larboard Bow: depth along 6 foot sand; and when come within about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of the

¹ The breeding of oysters is still carried on at Leigh and 150 boats are employed in the shrimp and oyster trade.

² The "sand" is the Maplin Sand.

³ "Bornham water" is the estuary of the river Crouch. Bowrey's chart (see above), for the sake of legibility, has been set facing west, but as the east and west points are marked on it, no difficulty is created in reading it.

⁴ There are two villages of Shoebury, North and South.

Beacon, then stood right away with it, going about three boats length to the Eastward of the Beacon, keeping about the same distance to the Eastward of a row of small Beacons which run from the otemost great Beacon to the Westward of Wakering haven¹; the least depth 5 foot at 4½ hours flood.

When past the Beacons, kept the Shoalings² of the West shoare about ½ a mile. Then come to an Opening on the Starboard side, borrowing somewhere on the starboard side and going into the said opening; the Larboard point lyes flat right ofe as the Point runs, near 100 Yards³.

When in this River [Roach] it is very narrow but bold, soe running about ¾ a mile you come to an opening on the Larboard side, which you must leave; from thence running about ⅓ of a mile, you come to an Opening on the Starboard side, which you must leave. Noat that from the sand all the passage aforesaid is dry at low water to this place and no farther.

From the aforesaid Opening running about ½ a mile you come to an Opening broad, and on the Larboard side, which leave, from thence about 2 miles you come to Bornham water. You must give birth to all the Points in this Passage.

From this opening Bornham Town⁴ lyes about 2 miles to the Westward, the River bold and broad.

From the second opening, in most places of this passage, is layers of Oysters which are known when the water is up by the Beacons: it is Felony to take of these Oysters⁵.

¹ "Wakering haven" is the opening south of Foulness Island near Great Wakering.

² "A shoal called the Bar, situated nearly in the middle of the river [Crouch], with 2 ft. over it and midway between Pagglesham creek and Burnham, is the greatest obstruction" (*North Sea Pilot*, Part III, 1897, p. 312).

³ The main channel is Havengore creek leading into the Roach river.

⁴ Burnham-on-Crouch, 5 m. above the outlet of the Crouch, noted for its important oyster fishery.

⁵ Beacons serve the purpose of hedges and divide layings, which are rented or owned in the same manner as fields above ground.

The oyster fisheries of Essex have been famous from the earliest historic times. The home of the native oyster is between Orford Ness and North Foreland. The chief fisheries are in the estuaries of the Colne, Blackwater, Crouch and Roach. There is a certain amount of common ground where self-sown oysters are found and where anyone is at liberty to fish, but Bowrey is alluding to private protected grounds, beds and "layings" where the exclusive right to dredge and fish has been conferred on the cultivators (corporations or individuals) by ancient royal grant or upon regularly organised Companies by modern Act of Parliament. For an article on oyster-culture in Essex see *Vict. Co. Hist., Essex*, II, 425-39.

4. From Bornham water¹ to St. Oesith² stone.

From Wakering at $\frac{3}{4}$ Flood stood right out from the Beacons SSEt., deepening the Water very gradually, having near the Edg of the sand 11 foot, and then depened soon to 7 fathoms.

From the entrance of Wakering water into Bornham water, stand down Bornham water to the Eastward, and if near low water keep the shoaling of the North Point of Bornham water [Hollywell Point] which runs ofe Flat about 3 miles dry at low water from the land. Keep along by the said Flat in 6 and 7 foot at Low water, in which depth rounded the Point.

Noat that the West end of a sand called the Buxee³ Tayls up fairly in the Opening of Bornham water, within about 3 miles of the dry Points of Bornham River, and is just dry at Low water. Betweene it and the Flat from the North point of Bornham is a Chanell [Raysand Channel] of $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms at low water, soe standing to the Northward, keeping the Shoaling of the flat, which runs ofe from the Maine [Sand] and is called the Ray [Sand], till brought St. Peters Point⁴ about a Point open from the West end of Mersey; then stood ofe to 6 fathoms and brought the Red clif⁵ a good Hanspicks [handspike's] length within Brickelsec [Brightlingsea] steeple; then stood over the Eastmost end of the Knowl⁶ in 6 foot, at a low water, we seeing it dry about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the Westward of us, the highest part of it being near the East end, and to the Westward of the sand between it and St. Peters Point it was not dry, there being 2 or 3 foot at low water. This Knowl shoal[s] very gradually; at the same time we were on the East end of the Knowl, saw a small spot of the Edle⁷ dry, bearing North distant about $\frac{1}{2}$ of

¹ Although Bowrey calls this journey "From Bornham water to St. Oesith stone," he really started from Wakering Haven out to sea and passed "Bornham water" on his way to St Osyth. "Bornham water," as already noted, is really the estuary of the river Crouch.

² "St. Oesith stone" is Stone Point, the southern entrance into St Osyth. See the end of this Direction.

³ "Buxey sand in the middle of the approach to the Crouch is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles across at its widest part. The greater portion of it dries from one to six feet at low water" (*North Sea Pilot*, Part III, 1897, p. 313).

⁴ "St. Peters Point" at the south side of the entrance of the river Blackwater, now called Sales Point. The ruined chapel of St Peter is a mile to the south of it. This point is also called by Bowrey in these Directions "Bradwell Point."

⁵ Not known now under this name. Possibly Bowrey means the modern Colne Point.

⁶ "The Knoll, a long narrow ridge on the N.E. side of Dengie Flat, which fills up the whole of the space between the Blackwater and the Crouch" (*North Sea Pilot*, p. 304).

⁷ "The Eagle shoal $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north of the outer extremity of the Knoll" (*North Sea Pilot*, p. 304).

a mile. The Edle is steep to. From the East Point of the Knowl, stood a little to the Northward till depened to 3 fathoms sand till brought the Red Clif a sayls bredth open without Brickelsee steeple; then stood right away with the said Steeple, which carryed us up the Chanel between the flat Point of sand (which runs ofe about a mile from the Point of St. Oesith and is Just dry at low water) and the flat which lyes ofe from Mersey about 2 miles and is dry at $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe; soe standing up the said Chanell and keeping the shoalings of the East side, till brought the stone (being the South point of St. Oesith Creek and is a Gravelly Point) on to the Southmost end of the Copperas house¹, and then stood away for the North side of the Creeke about mid way between the Copperas house and the Northmost Point of the Mouth of the Creek; and when came near the North side of the Creek, then stood right away with the Stone Point², which is steep to, and there Anchor[ed].

5. From St. Oesith Stone to Wivenhoe.

Stand out from the Stone, as before directed for coming in; and when out, stand up to the Northward in the great River called Cone [Colne] water. The best of the Chanell here is near the sandy Point of Mersey and about a mile downward on Mersey side. On this bare sandy Point of Mersey is a house called the Block house³. From this Point of Mersey stand up about Mid Chanell, till you are above the First Point on the North side, a little above which Point on the same side is a Creek goes in [Pyefleet channel], the North Point of which streches out pretty far and is about 3 miles above Mersey Blockhouse. Still keep near the Midle till you come above the said Creek, and then keep toward the North shoare for the flat of the Point on the South Shoare [Geetons Creek], which is sett with Beacons and lyes $\frac{3}{4}$ of the River over. You will see the Town of Wivenhoe over the said Point. Keep along on the North shoare till you are wholly above the said Point, and when you are about a Cables length above it hall over for the South shoare, which you must keep the shoalings of at about $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Rivers bredth till you come up to the Town.

¹ The Copperas Ground lies 1 m. out from Frinton chapel in $51^{\circ} 56' N$. Lat. and $1^{\circ} 12' E$. Long.

² Stone Point, opposite Stone Banks, is in $51^{\circ} 57' N$ Lat. and $1^{\circ} 10' E$. Long. This is clearly the "St. Oesith stone" of the title of this Direction.

³ A block-house, or small fortification, was situated at the south-east corner of the Island of Mersea to defend the place and the passage of the river Colne. The Parliamentarians seized it during the siege of Colchester in 1648. In 1768 it was ruinous and was known as the Block-house Stone. See Morant, *History and Antiquities of the county of Essex*, 1, 426. The point is now known as Mersea Point, where there is a coast-guard station.

When low water, is all over dry at the Town, and take it is a generall noat for this River [Colne] that there is no shoals in the Midle, except the aforesaid Point near the Town; And the sides shoals gradually in most Places.

6. From the Buoy of the Nore¹ to the Spits², and thence up the Wallett³.

From the Nore to the Black tayl Beacon is [blank] Miles. Noat the Main sand on the North shoare uncovers at $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe, and a little [blank] ships at the Nore. The said sand spits ofe a great way with a Point called the [Kentish] Knock, which breaks the tide of Ebbe from it 3 miles downwards, that a small vessell may ply to windward in the Eddy. From the Black Tayle Beacon to the Shoe Beacon⁴ is No.Et. by Et. 6 miles. From the Whitaker Beacon to the Buoy of the Spits⁵ 5 miles. West by North 1 mile from the Whitaker is a Wreck, lyes high and uncovered at $\frac{1}{2}$ Tide.

At about $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe went over a ships length above the [Whitaker] Buoy and from thence stood or mad[e] o[u]r way good N by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, depth $1\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ less to 3 fathoms; then stood up about [blank], keeping Bradwell Point, otherwise called St. Peters Point [Sales Point], Open and Shut with Banbury high land⁶, which is the Southmost high land of two, till brought Brickelsee steeple open a sails bredth from the Red Clif. Then as before directed.

7. From the Spits up the Wallett and into Cone Water.

From the Spits⁷ stear in for the Wallett No. by Et., or North 1 mile, till depen to 3 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, then NNW and NW till you bring Bradwell Point (which is a low Point of Trees and is the Southmost Point of Malden [Blackwater] River) to be Just Shut in with the Northmost part of Banbury [Danbury] high land, which is a levell hill, and is the Southmost of Two hills near a Point of the Compass distant from each other.

¹ The Nore Lighthouse in the Thames estuary to the north of Sheppey Island.

² "The Spitway connecting the upper end of the Wallett with the E. Swin" (*North Sea Pilot*, p. 301).

³ "The Wallett, a wide channel between Gunfleet Sand and the Essex shore extending from the Naze to abreast the Colne, 12 miles long" (*North Sea Pilot*, p. 299).

⁴ Shoe hole is in $51^{\circ} 34' N.$ Lat. and $1^{\circ} 04' E.$ Long.

⁵ Whitaker Spit Buoy, but now only about two miles from Whitaker Beacon. Probably its position has been altered since Bowrey's day.

⁶ Danbury, between Maldon and Chelmsford, a sea mark visible on a clear day.

⁷ The Swin Spitway between the Buxey and Gunfleet Sands. See above, note 2.

If a fair wind keep the said bearing. If contrary wind, keep the said Point open and shut with the said Point of Banbury high land, and it carries you up cleare of the Edle [Eagle] (which is a sand that lyes about 3 miles to the NE of St. Oesith Point and about S. from Fenwick¹ 2 miles ofe Shoare, and is Just dry at Low water) and of the Knowle, which is a Long Sand Streching due West from Bradwell Point near into the Sea, and Shoals gradually, between which two sands is the Chanell.

Noat: the Edle shoals pretty gradually on the SE side, but on the W. side suddenly.

Stand as before directed till you bring Brickelsee Church Just open with the Red Clif², which you will then bear nearest North and noat that a sandy Point which will first come open with the said Church makes somewhat like a Clif but not to be deceived; the Red Clif is the Westmost and the second and makes Redish and steepe. Then stand away with Cone Water, keeping Brickelsee Church a sails bredth open with the Red Clif till you come up near the dry sandy Point on the East Shoare; then stand along the said shoare at $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distance till you are about $\frac{1}{2}$ way from the said sandy Point to Mersey Blockhouse, which is a house standing by itselfe on the North Point of Mersey, being a bare sandy Point³. Then stand up keeping the said house just open to the Westward. The Chanell lyes from the said Sandy Point of Mersey about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile downwards on that shoare.

8. From St. Oesith, over the Knowl Buxee and Maine sand into the Swin.

Stood out of St. Oesith Creek and then the Chanell Cours, keeping the Red Clif a larg sails bredth open with Brickelsee steeple, keeping the same marks and standing S. and S $\frac{1}{2}$ E.; wind at W. and near a high water Neep tide. In Malden [Blackwater] Chanell had 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms; run over the Knowl; had on it 8 foot, and when Just over it, Bradwell Point bore WNW. Then depened to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms oaze; then in about a mile run from the Knowl; came on the Ray, which is the flat from the Maine and lyes all along between Malden [Blackwater] and Bornham [Crouch] Rivers, and this part next the Knowl spits ofe a Tayle furthest, on which had 2 fathoms for about $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Fenwick does not appear on modern charts. It was probably a farmhouse, "wick" being a common termination for such buildings in that part of Essex. There is a Jay Wick between St Osyth and Clacton.

² See *ante*, note 5 on p. 97.

In the *North Sea Pilot*, p. 305, the "leading mark" for the "passage into the Colne between the Eagle and the Knoll" is said to be "Barn hall, a house standing high on the outline." This may be near Bowrey's "Red Clif"

³ See *ante*, note 3 on p. 98.

a mile; then still steering as before, depened Gradually to $5\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, being then in the Chanell between the Ray and the Buxee; and then the North Point of Bornham River West $\frac{3}{4}$ South. Then steared S by E and SSE, and when brought the said Point $W\frac{1}{4}S$ entered on the Buxee, shoalding to 8 foot at high water, then in $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile depened to 4 fathoms. Then saw Whitaker Beacon bearing $SE\frac{1}{2}S$; stood right away with it, shoalding to 11 foot; then came to a swatch [swathway] in which had 7 fathoms within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of the Whitaker Beacon; then shoaled to 10 foot, the Beacon S by E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile. Stood SE by S till depened, keeping a good Cables length to the Eastward of the Beacon till over the sand, as depened coming into the Swin [channel]¹ we halled up Chanell². The least water on the Main sand 10 foot, being a little past high water a Neep tide—wind Westerly, moderate.

9. From Cone Water to Bornham Water:
The Moon 14 days old.

Came out of Cone [Colne] Water at high water, wind at S by W.; came on the Knowl at $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe, depth 6 foot then being on the Lower part of Knowl; stood WSW depening very gradually to 2 fathoms: continued hard ground a great while, we runing on the South side of the Knowl till began to shorten the Main, then soft ground. On the Lower end of the Knowl 6 foot, St. Peters Church [Bradwell] West Northerly. St. Ocsith Trees NNE Northerly.

From thence turn along to the SSW in the Chanell betweene the Ray and the Buxee, it being in the narrowest part about a mile over at $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe or low water and shoalding very gradually on both sides, especially the Maine side which is oaze: depth in the Mid Chanell 3 fathoms at $\frac{3}{4}$ Ebbe. Bring the house on Bradwell Point Just open to the Westward of the Church on the West Point of Mersey³, which carries you cleare to the Westward of the West end of the Buxee, and then is Bornham Chanell cleare from side to side and about a mile broad.

10. Over the Main Sand from the Swin [channel]:
Moon 6 days old.

Wind at NW. moderate wether. Came over the sand about a mile above the Leaning mast, which mast stands about 1 mile above the Whitaker Beacon: had 7 foot on the top of high water.

¹ The East Swin, or King's channel, extends from the north-east end of the Gunfleet to Whitaker Beacon.

² Bowrey did not take the most direct nor the shortest way, which would have been through the Swin Spitway between the Buxey and the Gunfleet Sands.

³ St Peter and St Paul's Church, West Mersea.

There lyes a Wreck about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile further Westerly Just to be seen at high water.

There is said to be a New Chanell Just below the leaning Mast.

Stood about 3 miles below the Shooe Beacon, and then run in upon the [Foulness] sand, being $\frac{3}{4}$ Flood, a Top Spring Tide; wind at SW, an easy gale; the least depth on the sand 9 foot Standing North, when brought the Whitaker Beacon E by N distance $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, then were in Bornham Chanell [Crouch river] depening to 6 fathoms; stood away with St. Oesith N & N $\frac{1}{2}$ E; had in Buxee 2 fathoms and on the uper part of the Knowl $\frac{1}{4}$ less 3 fathoms; then stood away with Cove C[unfinished].

11. Coming out of Wakering haven: moon 14 days old.

Keep the shoalding on the West side by the Land and soe to the Inermost Beacon, keeping about 10 Yards to the Eastward of the Row of Beacons. If the wind contrary, the Tide must be well up. Then keep as near the Beacon as Possi[b]le. As soon as about, Tack againe, going as little to the Eastward as possible of the Beacons till above $\frac{1}{2}$ way out to the Outer Beacon; then may be somewhat bolder. It shoalds suddenly to the Eastward near the land. The flood setts out of the Harbour near an Hour before high water.

Depth in the best of the Chanell 16 foot an hour before high water. Wind vearable.

12. Marks for the Swin [channel] in the Sand right ofe from Wakering Haven at Low water.

Wakering Church¹ No.Wt.

The lands End of Sheppy S $\frac{1}{4}$ E., Knowl on the high land over it being Just even with it, Wakering Haven North.

You may run into this Swin at low water, and as the water flows, stand right away for the Harbour. The flood setts right into the Harbour².

13. Marks for the Oyster Ground near St. Oesith [Osyth].

The North Point of [East] Mersey, being a low white sandy Point streching about 2 sails bredth from the Blockhouse, and two great Trees near together on the high land about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the Westward

¹ Great Wakering Church.

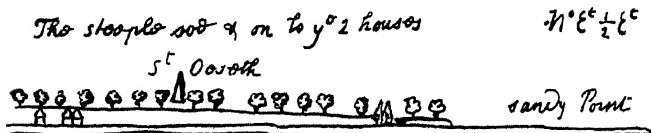
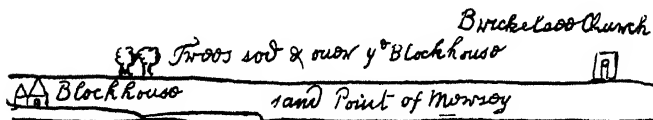
² Compare this chart (see p 103) with that on p. 95 (Direction No. 3), which is set facing south for legibility; so the Swin channel lies east o the beacons off Wakering Haven.

of Brickelsee steeple, both in one: And a house lying near the Eastward side to keep it about 2 sails bredth open to the Northward of St. Oesith steeple, and soe till you bring it [?] very near to the steeple, and then stand no further to the Northward. The said house and steeple when in one bears $NE\frac{1}{2}E$ and a flat steeple [?Peldon church] about a large sails bredth shut over the S.West Point of Mersey.

The abovesaid sandy Point of Mersey to be brought as aforesaid in with the two great Trees, both a little to the Eastward of the said Trees, but not to be open to the Westward of the Trees¹.



Marks for y^e 2^d Oyster Ground of Mersey



¹ Both the charts reproduced on pp. 103 and 104 face about north-west

Marks for y^e Wst most Oyster ground of Morrey

Wst Point of Morrey



Buckles Church to be cut from this bearing on to y^e Blackhouse



Blackhouse

Sandy Pt of Morrey

14. From [? Pinmill] about 3 miles below Ipswich into the Walleth.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe the Flats on each side Ipswich River being uncovered, run down, keeping near the Midle, from whence to Harwich is near [12] miles: kept about a Cables length from the Point [Land-guard Point] which lyes ofe from Harwich, and then standing right out till brought the Naze land fairly open with the Clif near Harwich, and then stood fairly away without the Naze Of the Naze it is flat $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles, at low water almost Dry. Between Harwich and the Naze, near the shoar, is severall flats. When to the Westward of the Naze a fair bold shoar, all up the Walleth, till come to the Edle [Eagle]

15. Noats about the Walleth and over the Knowl.

*Sunday September 4th 1698*¹. The lowest of the Neip. At 1 this afternoon the Wind at S.W., a hard gale and a low water, we stood down a little below the buoy of the Spitts [Swin Spitway], which lyes in 3 fathoms at low water. From the buoy stood N. and N. b E. About $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile from the buoy had but 6 foot which continued near $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile runing, then depening our water we halled up to the Westward, found a Chanell between the Edle [Eagle] and the Maine in which is 5 or 6 fathoms at low water, being very graduall Soundings on the Maine side. With a Westerly wind is good turning up till you come on the Shoalings of the Barr, for which you must run ofe to the Southward till Bradwell Point is Almost brought on to Banbury [Danbury] high land and bearing about West, then may goe over the Point of the Barr in about $\frac{1}{8}$ foot at $\frac{1}{4}$ flood.

Right open with Cone [Colne] water when Bradwell Point Just coming under Banbury [Danbury] high land, then was in the Chanell of Malden [Blackwater River], depth 8 fathom at high water; when said Point brought to a fall in the North part of Banbury hill, then came on the Knowl [Knoll], about South 2 miles from the uper part of the Knowl, $\frac{1}{4}$ Ebb depth 2 fathoms sand to 3 fathoms Oaze—still standing South—Shoalded gradually to 6 foot, being on the North Point of Bornham.

The Swatch [Swatchway] between the Knowl and Bradwell Point lyes not above $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the said Point and has 3 foot at low water.

16. From Blacktail to St. Oesith [Osyth] 1701.

Blacktail beacon to the Shoe² E.N.E. 4" or 5".

Shoe to Whitaker N.E. 8 miles.

¹ Bowrey made this cruise shortly after his return from his tour in the Netherlands.

² See *ante*, note 4 on p. 99.

Whitaker [Beacon] to the Spits N.E. b N. 4 miles.

Whitaker to the buoy of the Midles¹ S E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 2".

Spits to St. Oesith point N.W. b N. 7".

17. Spits [Sand] to Bornham [Crouch] rivers mouth
W. b S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.

The Chanell into Bornham goes in about a good Cables length below the Whitaker beacon.

N.W. b N. 4" from the buoy of the Spits came on the tail of the Knowl in 3 fathoms.

St. Oesith steeple N N.E. and a great Hedg both in one, I take to be a mark when just above the Edle, which Hedg comes the nearest to the Sea of any thereabouts.

Coming up to Cone [Colne] water, when you bring the white Point or Clif² about One Point to the Eastward of Bricklesea steeple, then you bring the Red Clif³ just to the Steeple, and then you are just on the Inner Edg of the [Colne] Bar Point.

18. Between Bornham and the Cone [Colne].

From the North edg of the Buxee in 2 fathoms $\frac{1}{2}$ flood, near the West end of it, the Southwest[er]most house of 2 [Hollywell] next the North Point of Bornham River bore W. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. from thence said sand the North side lyes N.E. till bring Bradwell blockhouse N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., St. Oesith N.N.E., then the Buxee goes away more Easterly.

St. Oesith N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., Barr Point N N. b W., Bradwell Point W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. then just at the E. end of the Knowl.

St Oesith N. b E. $\frac{1}{4}$ E. at Low water, Bradwell North[er]most Trees just open to the Southward of the Trees above them on the West Shoare, then had 9 foot, I suppose on the Edle, then run S. b E. $\frac{1}{2}$ of a Mile, depening gradually to 5 fathoms, then Suddenly 3 fathoms, Suddenly again 5 fathoms, then Bricklesea Church N. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. the White Point² of the Barr N. b W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., now am in Malden [Blackwater] Chanell. Continued 5 fathoms for $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile standing S. b E., then shoalded to 6 foot on the Knowl, St Oesith N b E being still low water, but a Neip tide, went over the Knowl in that depth, continuing 6 foot about $\frac{1}{4}$ a mile. Then depened gradually to 3 fathoms; then stood S.S W. the same depth for 1 mile (the midst of with 3 fathoms ground⁴ brought Bradwell blockhouse just on to the high land and bearing W.N.W.). Then depened to

¹ The upper buoy of the Middle Sand outside the Whitaker Channel, south-east of the West Beacon.

² By the "white Point or Clif" Bowrey seems to mean the "White House" of the Admiralty Chart of 1872.

³ See *ante*, note 5 on p. 97 and note 2 on p. 100.

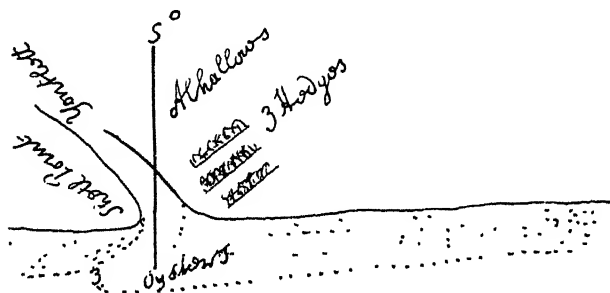
⁴ This seems to mean, "the most of it with 3 fathoms ground."

8 Fathoms being the Chanell between the Buxee and Knowl, and is about 1 mile wide. In this Chanell good fishing from 8 fathoms. Stood W. B S. 2 mile shoalding to 3 fathoms, 1 hour flood; being then on a good Oister and fishing ground, Bradwell Church W.N.W. From thence stood South to the shoalding on the Buxee and so SW. along said sand.

[*Directions along the Kent Coast.*]

1. Going into Yentlett¹.

Keep the Shell Point, which is the Eastmost Point of the going in, on with the Eastmost of Three Hedges on Alhallows land, and then it will beare about South West, then stand away with the Shell Point, rounding the said point close abroad.



There is in the Chanell 3 foot at low water. A Boat of 4 or 5 foot draught may goe in directly South at $\frac{1}{2}$ Flood².

2. To goe Thro the Swatch within the Nore.

It [*sic* ? If] come from Sheerness, take the shoaling on the East Point of Grane [Grain] in $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 fathoms oaze, and soe round the said Point, if you have a [?] turning gale. On the Nore side it is sand; on the Maine side Oaze, and shoales gradually on both sides in the Chanell at the [illegible] is $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms oaze at Low water, and then will Quinborough³ Town be Just open to the ?Et.No.Et. of Shereness Fort.

¹ The Yantlett or Yentlett Creek is the water which, with the Medway estuary, forms the Isle of Grain.

² The chart reproduced above faces south.

³ The local pronunciation of Queenborough is still, as Bowrey gives it, "Qunborough."

The West entrance of the Swatch¹ is Just dry at a Low Spring tide; it is there all over sand. Coming from the Eastward into the Swatch, keep the low Point of Grane about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Point of the Compass open to the Southward of all the high land on the Essex shoare.

3. From Sherness to Margate.

From Sherness stood [illegible] No.Et. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, then along shoare to the Lands End [of Sheppey], keeping about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of shoare, or in 3 fathoms, being $\frac{1}{2}$ Ebbe. When come of the Pitch of the high land of Sheppey, which is the Lands End there, halled in for the Maine, keeping in $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms: when came about 3 miles to the Eastward of the Lands End, then shoalded to 2 fathoms sand, being there on the inner Edg of the Spaniard²; halled in for the Shoare, depened to 3 fathoms Oaze. (You may hall in as you please to the Maine, being Oaze and graduall soundings.) Then stood away to the Eastward for the Buoys of the Narrows³, keeping the Reculvers about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Points open on our Starboard Bow, and in depth 3 fathoms $\frac{2}{3}$ Ebbe.

4. From Margate to Sheerness: Moon 8 days old.

July 19th 1694. At $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour past 1 the afternoon a little more then $\frac{1}{2}$ Flood, sailed with the wind at So.bWt., a hard Gale. We stood a little ofe to goe cleare of the Nailer⁴, which is a ledg of Rocks lying about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ofe shoare Just to the Westward of Margate, and is dry at Low water. Then stood along Shoare to the Westward, at about a mile distance. When came within about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the Reculvers, then had 2 fathoms on the sand which rounds ofe; then depened to 3 fathoms Oaze, and as we came abrest of the Reculvers had uneven Soundings, the least 8 foot; at about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile distance from the Shoare at $\frac{3}{4}$ flood, bearing ofe, Soon depened our water. Soe kept along Shoare at about 1 mile distance till came near Searne [*sic*, Herne] Bay, depth 2: $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 fathoms; good Soundings along when past the Reculvers. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the Westward of the Reculvers is severall Beacons of a fishing Ware [weir], which stands about a mile from the Shoare. You may goe within or without the said Beacons, near to them; but betweene the said Ware and the Reculvers is a Ledge of Rocks, which I suppose does not lye above $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the shoar, for I found no Sign of them, as I came along at 1 mile distance ofe Shoare. From the Reculvers to Searne [Herne] Bay is about 7 miles⁵ and from the fishing Ware aforesaid is a cleare Shoar; you may come to what Depth you please.

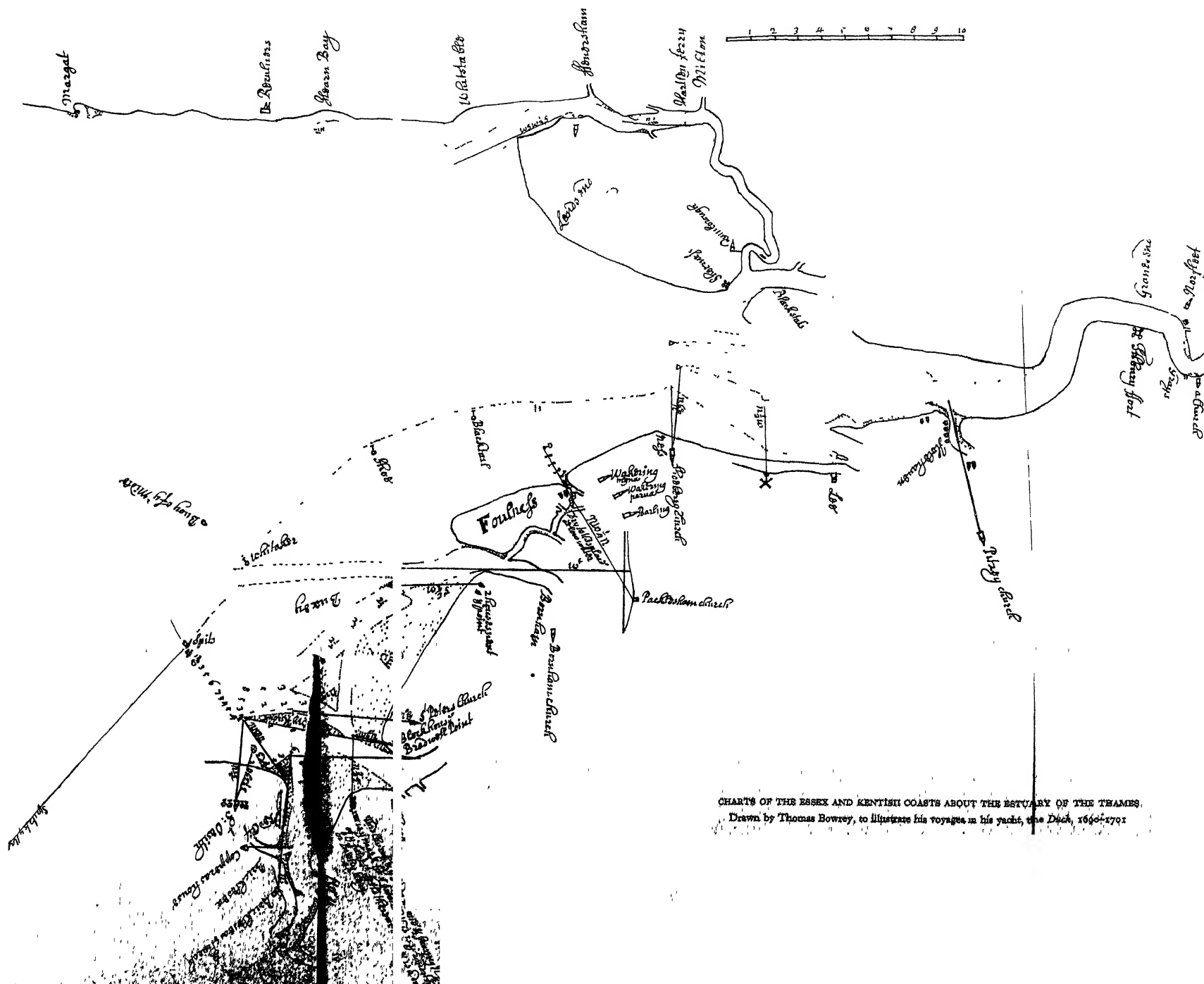
¹ The Swatchway between the Nore Sand and Grain Spit.

² See *ante*, note 5 on p. 71.

³ See *ante*, note 3 on p. 71.

⁴ See *ante*, note 6 on p. 10.

⁵ Really about 4 m.



In Searne Bay the Smacks¹ lye all open to the Northward and lye aground at low water in the Oaze.

When we were thwart of Searn Bay, about 1 mile Distance from the smacks, had depth 3 fathoms near high water; then stood away right with the High land on Sheppey 4 miles; to the Westward of Searn Bay we came by another Fishing Waie about 3 miles of Shoare, the depth 3 fathoms.

Stood up within a Cables length of the Bluf Point of the Lands End at a high water depth 2 fathoms. From thence turned up along shoare, the water falling; stood in to $1\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms which was about a Cables length from the Shoare and ofe to 3 fathoms, which was about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile ofe Shoare, very graduall Soundings; Soe all along from the Lands End till near Sheerness, and at 7 the evening Anchored ofe Sheerness Fort.

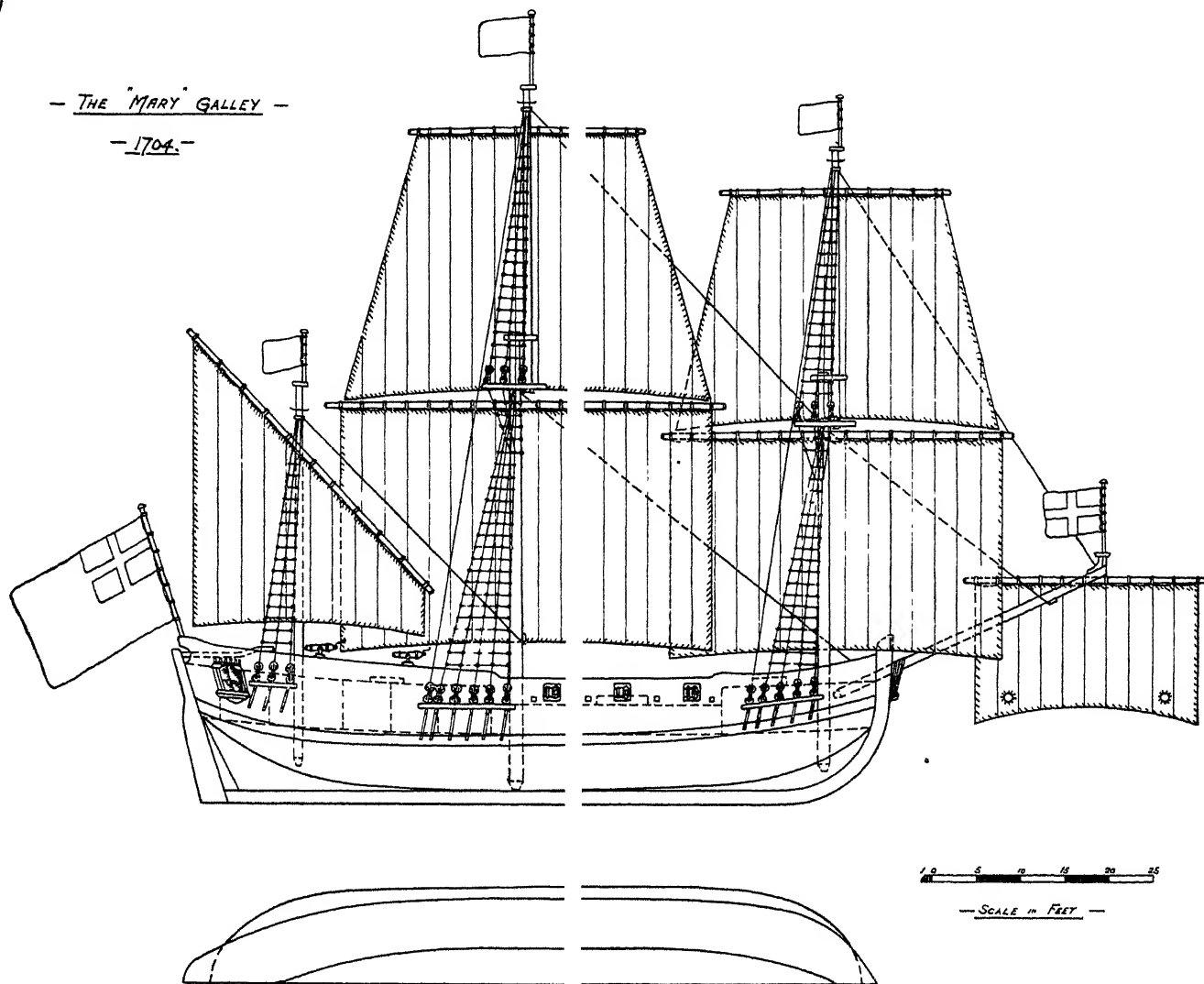
¹ Bowrey was then near Whitstable. The Whitstable oyster-boats, although most of them are now cutter-rigged, are still called smacks (G. S. Laird Clowes).

PART II

THE STORY OF THE *MARY GALLEY*

- THE "MARY" GALLEY -

- 1704. -



SHEAR-DRAUGHT AND PLAN OF THE "MARY" GALLEY

Compiled by Mr G. S. Laird Clowes, from the dimensions and other particulars contained in the Bowrey Papers.
All running rigging has been omitted

INTRODUCTION

IN telling the story of the *Mary Galley* I have found myself obliged to follow a different course from that hitherto employed in editing volumes for this Society. In this case it has not been so much a matter of elucidating a traveller's tale as of compiling the history of a ship out of a mass of manuscript papers left behind by a mariner merchant of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Those belonging to one of the many ships with which he was concerned have had to be picked out from a great number of others relating to divers ships and affairs and then sorted into definite categories, out of which a continuous narrative could be made. In pursuing this course of editing the documents themselves, I have adopted the plan of writing a series of introductory remarks to each set of papers so as to tell the story, and of attaching thereto the appropriate copies of the manuscripts, annotated where necessary, as the best method of making the details of the tale clear to the reader's mind and keeping him *au fait* with the contents of this part of Bowrey's remains.

As above said, Bowrey was either part owner of, or concerned with, a number of ships of his time, and he left behind him a great quantity of documents connected with them. Some of the stories disclosed are of great interest, and indeed of importance. For instance, he was the principal owner of the *Worcester*, the history of which has been the cause of many books and articles, as the execution of her commander Captain Green and one of his officers as pirates by the Scottish authorities in 1705 brought about a great controversy between the English and Scottish Governments at a time when the Union of the two countries was in debate. There are several versions of it extant from the Scottish side of the case, but none from the English, and Bowrey's papers fully disclose this last view. The papers relating to the *Rising Sun*, another of Bowrey's ships, give a valuable account of

the great storm in 1703, which threw down the Eddystone Lighthouse. Yet another ship, the *Prosperous*, has a story of exceptional interest as regards the piracy then rampant in the Eastern seas; and so on. The documents relating to the *Mary Galley* were, however, selected for editing in this volume for the special reason that they give the only complete story, so far as I am aware, of a small ship of the early eighteenth century from its very beginning to its disappearance.

The papers commence with a contract for the building of the ship, containing specifications so complete that the Science Museum has been able to make a drawing of her, a fact which shows the importance for naval mercantile history of this document, its publication alone justifying the compilation of the present account.

Bowrey's *Mary Galley* of 1704, which must not be confounded with the well-known *Mary* galley of the Royal Navy of 1744, was a very small ship, about the size of a modern sea-going launch, and her specifications and a draft by Bowrey himself of her "Great Cabin" show that she must have been a very uncomfortable ship according to modern ideas. And yet, in this little uncomfortable vessel there lived a crew of 26 to 30—officers and men—for three years, through voyages from England *via* the Cape of Good Hope, to Java and India and home again. The mere contemplation of such a fact shows what kind of men they were that "went down into the sea in ships" in the early days of the East India Company. Moreover, the papers—which were never meant for publication—admit us into many little private details of the lives and characters of the writers, which are of value to the student of history.

The outline of the story is soon told. The *Mary Galley* was built on the Thames between May and July 1704, under the most careful supervision of her commander, Captain Joseph Tolson, the great care bestowed on her construction making her a good sea-going craft. He had his reward in finding that she could outsail the French ships that attacked him, at the very commencement of his voyage to India, off

the South Coast of England. On 16 October 1704 the *Mary Galley* sailed from Gravesend for the Downs, which were reached on 21 October, and on the 25th she started on her voyage to India. She was chased by French privateers on the first day out, but escaping from them she put into Portsmouth, sailing thence on 31 October under convoy of the Royal Naval ship, *Litchfield*, which, however, soon left her. She then fell in with what was taken to be a French privateering fleet, but once more evaded the danger and reached the Cape of Good Hope. Thence she sailed on 26 January 1705 to Bencoolen on the West Coast of Sumatra, which she reached on 23 April, and then she went on to Bantal and Padang on the same coast. Finally, she reached Batavia in Java. By 2 September 1705 she left Batavia and arrived at Calcutta on 18 November. Here she stayed till 15 February 1706, when she returned to Batavia, reaching it some time in April. On 12 August 1706 she went back to Calcutta *via* Madras, where she stayed from 16 to 24 October, getting to Calcutta again on 14 November. She left Calcutta on 18 January 1707, once more bound apparently for Batavia, where, or at some other place in the "South Seas," she joined (a little later on in 1707) the Dutch home-bound fleet, with which were associated the East Indiamen *Frederick* and *Loyall Cook*.

With this fleet the *Mary Galley* reached the Cape of Good Hope on 25 March 1707 and stayed there till 20 April. Then she sailed under the same convoy to the west of Ireland, seeking the Dutch coast *via* the northern passage past the Shetlands. Westward of the Shetlands she got into a fog and then into a gale and lost her convoy, which eventually reached Texel in the Zuider Zee safely. Nevertheless, her commander, Tolson, intended to make the eastern coast of England, avoiding Scotland on account of the happenings to the *Worcester*, though he was driven by weather to the Firth of Forth, the very scene of the disaster to that ship. He tried to put into Newcastle, but there he met once again with French privateers, with whom he had a sharp tussle, losing one man killed and 10 wounded out of a crew of 24. Among

the casualties was Captain Tolson himself, who had a severe wound in one of his legs and became *hors de combat*. The ship then passed into the command of Richard Griffin, the chief mate, and found her way to the Jutland coast of Denmark, where two French privateers were mistaken for English men of war, with the result that the *Mary Galley* was captured on 18 August 1707, and taken into Dunkirk. There the crew were imprisoned.

They are again heard of in England in the early part of 1708, where the purser, Elias Grist, partly backed by the other officers, brought some unsavoury charges against his captain. These Bowrey and his brother owners took up, apparently in the hope of fastening the blame of the ship's capture on to Tolson, and so escaping their financial liabilities to a certain extent. The case went to arbitration and ended in Tolson's favour. Bowrey was always a prompt paymaster, and by January 1710 the whole of the ship's losses were paid off and all accounts closed.

Such is the story in outline, but its main interest and value in modern times does not lie in the story itself so much as in the fact that, as has already been remarked, we have in the Bowrey papers telling it, useful and unique specifications of a small mercantile ship of Queen Anne's reign, an account of her construction day by day and of her owners and their proceedings as such. We have the story also of an action at sea with privateers and of a voyage to India and back, showing how ships' captains carried on their business at that time. Then we have the capture of the ship just on her arrival in home waters, the slanderous accusations thereafter by her officers in reference to their commander—common enough in those days—and the procedure of arbitration in such matters, which is very instructive. Lastly, we have specimens of a ship's accounts, from the actual commencement to the very end of her career. We have thus presented to us a complete picture of a ship in the early eighteenth century and of the acts of those concerned with her.

The records of many early voyages are available from other narratives, but here we have not only the history of such a

voyage, but also of the ship in which it was made and of the difficulties that surrounded those who made it.

Going a little further into details of the *Mary Galley's* general voyage to the East, out and home, we find references to events in the history of two ships, the *Abingdon* and the *Prosperous*. In the *Abingdon* there was an attempt at mutiny on the part of some of her crew, with the assistance of some men in her consort, the *Josiah*, in January 1704, while the *Prosperous* was taken by pirates with the help of a portion of her own crew in Madagascar in 1702, when her captain, John Hilliard, was murdered. Most of the remainder of her crew escaped in the ship's sloop, the *Linnet*, to Surat, where they were imprisoned for six months by the Muhammadan Governor on suspicion of being themselves pirates, despite the efforts of Sir Nicholas Waite, the Consul of the New East India Company. It is interesting to note that Bowrey was a part-owner of the *Prosperous* and that the imprisoned crew owed their release to an historical attack on Surat by the "Savages," *i.e.* by a Maratha army, as the prisoners were wanted to help in resisting it.

Bowrey's papers (not printed in this volume) about the *Prosperous*, when read with the *Surat Factory Records*, show that Edward Long, the supercargo and a relative of one of his co-owners, sent him an entirely false account of the treatment of the imprisoned men by Sir Nicholas Waite and Sir John Gayer, the two leading English authorities at Surat, exhibiting once more the difficulties of merchants and mercantile bodies in England in dealing with Oriental trade at that period.

Tolson's letters home from Sumatra, Java and India show that he was new to the Eastern trade, but at the same time a smart trader, as well as a capable mariner. Also, as regards the "South Seas," *i.e.* Sumatra and Java, information in 1705 was still somewhat vague and uncertain as far as the English were concerned. Sickness among his crew was severe and he met with difficulties which one would have thought were avoidable by his day, in regard to the action of the *teredo* worm on his ship's bottom, apparently through ignorance of the tropical seas.

The standing quarrel between the East India Company and "interlopers" in the Indian trade is well known, and it is interesting to note that the Act of Parliament of 1699/1700 permitting trading by "separate stock" ships had had a most beneficial effect in checking the rivalry, since Tolson, in his capacity of commander of such a ship, met with no opposition anywhere on the Indian eastern coast.

There are several minor matters found in the papers which are of general interest. After Bowrey had entered into his contract with Richard Wells, the shipwright, to build the *Mary Galley*, he created what would now be called a "private company" to own, run and finance her. Although the conditions, legal and other, as to companies were then entirely different from those now obtaining—especially in the point of power to compel subscribers to pay for the shares they took up—much in Bowrey's proceedings, as the company's promoter, is analogous to those of the present day. The whole story is told with fair completeness in the papers. Incidentally it appears that the "wages" of the captain and officers, which seem to be very low, were in practice absentee allowances to their families (where they were married men) left behind in England.

The postage paid on several of the letters to correspondents in England shows that the rates were much the same in Queen Anne's time as they are now, though of course the conditions under which correspondence was conducted were wholly different. Instances of postage rates are preserved in the correspondence printed. The correspondence itself also presents several points of interest, with occasional hints at current public events, now matters of history.

Numerous accounts found among the papers have been printed, as they are so informing and have indeed provided many items out of which the story of the ship and its doings has been compiled. Of special value in this way are the accounts furnished by Joseph Tolson while watching the building of the ship, by Sir Ambrose Crowley, ironmonger and ship's chandler, for her equipment, and by the ship's painters, Samuel Nix and Albert Kam. Also from the bill

for the Launching Dinner, given by Bowrey on 22 July 1704, we not only learn the date on which the *Mary Galley* was launched, but are given an insight into the details of a London shipowner's banquet in those days.

Bowrey as a merchant was naturally precise in matters of account, and his private account book has fortunately survived. It is indexed and carefully kept up, though to modern ideas it is an extraordinarily laborious proceeding to get at his financial position at any given time therefrom. Here and there is a summary of the case as regards a particular account at a particular date, and it must be supposed that this was the method by which merchants at that period surveyed their financial position from time to time. Bowrey does not appear to have framed an annual statement of his affairs, such as I have known other personages of former days to draw up of their "fortune." In one case that has come to my knowledge, not only was a careful summary drawn up annually, but also quinquennially, through a long series of years.

Among other matters disclosed by the accounts is a custom of habitually deducting a discount in paying bills, even small ones, wherever possible. Perhaps in Bowrey's case it may have been due to prompt payment, as was his habit.

Incidentally also, the accounts show some of the difficulties of Oriental trade in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It must have been extremely difficult for ship-owners at home, hampered by many strange currencies and exchanges they could not control, to get at the actual facts of the doings of the ships' captains and agents in the East. The accounts show that Bowrey repeatedly tried to do this and that he was not fairly met by those whom he employed, though, of course, in this case he was hampered by the capture of his ship by his country's enemies.

A good many cash dealings between the owners of the ship and their officers have been preserved. In these the captain, Joseph Tolson, shows himself as a competent man both on shore and at sea, and beyond doubt a most careful one. He seems to have served his employers well, though in

the end, as already narrated, he was estranged from them after unquestionably bad treatment on their part. This does not seem, however, to have acted inimicably to his subsequent career, as he was in the East India Company's service for many years afterwards.

Among the captain's papers are the ship's license to Trade, the Bill of Lading and Bowrey's Trading Instructions—all most informing documents. These disclose the trading cargo taken to India. The list of Victualling Stores is also instructive. Even more so are statements in some later letters from Bowrey as to secret trade orders, which are, however, obscure and do not read as if they were straightforward; but after all, their object may have been to escape from impositions by way of duties that might be suffered at the hands of the East India Company. Indeed, Bowrey's correspondence shows great apprehension, apparently unfounded, of the animosity of that body towards his ship, probably because he had a vivid recollection of the treatment meted out to "interlopers" when he was in India some eighteen years previously.

Bowrey's correspondence with the captain further exhibits a character to be found elsewhere in the letters of men working in the Eastern trade. He gives extraordinarily minute instructions in all sorts of matters, great and small, as if captain and crew were employed at no great distance, and as if the chances of the instructions reaching the addressees were not at all precarious. It is needless to say that such instructions were often not received in time, or even at all, and they were certainly not by any means always acted on, sometimes of set purpose and sometimes because the circumstances had altered.

Finally, Tolson was the bearer of a number of letters of recommendation to friends and other correspondents of Bowrey in India. Among them was the great Governor of Madras, Thomas Pitt, and the letter to him was accompanied by most interesting public news concerning the Battle of Blenheim and the taking of Gibraltar which were among the many striking events of 1704.

After his ship was captured by the French in the North Sea on 18 August 1707, Tolson was imprisoned for a while in Dunkirk, and during 1708 he had to fight the case already mentioned, brought against him for alleged misdemeanours while in the East. Although upon arbitration it was decided in his favour, the quarrel it aroused led to a permanent estrangement between him and Bowrey. The story of the action occupies much space in Bowrey's papers and its conduct does not reflect *prima facie* much credit on Bowrey, his brother owners and the officers of the ship. Many of the charges against Tolson were mean and petty and he had great cause for taking offence. The final result of the case was to settle legally all matters that might be in dispute between Bowrey and all the other parties concerned with the ship in consequence of her capture by the French, and this is the only defence that can be raised, as regards Bowrey, for bringing it.

Passing to the papers of other officers of the ship, we find that Joseph Dupuy, son of Elias Dupuy, one of the principal owners of the *Mary Galley*, appears to have been on board as an assistant supercargo, against his will and the judgment of Captain Joseph Tolson, because of his father's interest in the adventure. His position gave him rank as second on the ship. He turned out to be an unscrupulous and undesirable spendthrift and was deprived of his post, after serious misbehaviour, by his brother officers, Tolson, Griffin and Grist, at Batavia. But he seems to have rejoined the ship on her first voyage to Calcutta and to have remained on board to the end of the general voyage as a sort of official without an office. The whole situation is in itself a commentary on the difficulties of the day. Here we have a young man with a backing in England thought to be so strong that, though he thoroughly misbehaved himself and showed that he was entirely untrustworthy, he was nevertheless allowed by his captain and brother officers to remain on board a very small ship with no position in it for about a year. The situation must have been unpleasant in the highest degree. However, when Captain Tolson was lying badly wounded in the fight

in the North Sea, Joseph Dupuy was good to him, though by a turn round, common in human nature, he appears as an opponent in the case afterwards brought against his captain, largely at the instigation of Grist, the purser.

Richard Griffin, the chief mate, was apparently a colourless man of no particular character, and we hear little of him during the voyage. When Captain Tolson was wounded in the engagement with the French privateers, he had to take command and seems to have been unequal to the position, for the capture of the ship was due to an error of judgment on his part. Afterwards he joined the purser in bringing accusations against the captain regarding the conduct of the ship's affairs while in the East.

Elias Grist, the purser, does not altogether appear in a favourable light from the beginning, and in the end, when trouble came upon the captain and the ship from the French privateers, he shows himself to have been of a grasping and unscrupulous character and capable of despicable actions. The accounts relating to him prove that it was customary to exact a payment in advance on appointment, from pursers of ships, no doubt by way of guarantee.

Thomas Studds, the midshipman, was a favoured cousin of Thomas Bowrey, and we have in the accounts some interesting details as to the outfit of a midshipman for an Eastern voyage, and of his education in "Navigation and Arithmetick." He, too, seems to have sided with Grist in a half-hearted manner in the former's attacks on the captain.

John Elliott, the doctor of the ship, apparently held a position lower than any of the officers. He was more illiterate than they were, and there are one or two delightfully ill-spelt letters from him extant. He appears as a mild opponent of Tolson in the case brought against the latter, as if he was not sure where his interests lay. He figured also as defendant in a case in the Court of Lord Chief Justice Holt in 1708, the details of which are not now available. It was concerned with some diamonds—"dimentts" as Tolson calls them in one of his letters—which were apparently brought home in the *Mary Galley*.

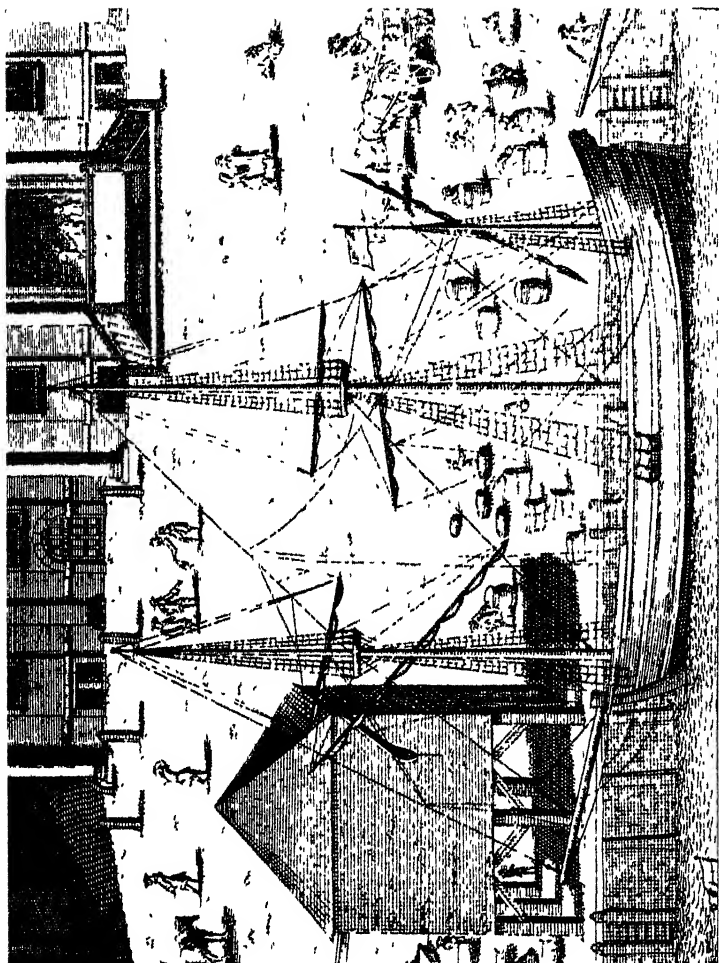
There is nothing else of special interest in the accounts or stories of the officers, but the bonds of Captain Tolson and some of the others are in existence, and so is the indemnification bond in regard to the ship's debts, exhibiting the present practice in embryo. There are also several insurance papers showing that the ship and cargo were insured for a voyage to the East both in England and in Holland, and that the rates for "interloping" ships were very high—16 to 22 per cent.—and also that the risks of sending cash to India were extraordinarily great. If, however, the ship formed part of a recognised convoy—as did the *Mary Galley* in her homeward voyage—the insurance rates appear to have been much lower, 10 to 12 per cent. Bowrey seems to have insured his ship in Holland and in England for the homeward passage to a Dutch port about two months before her capture, at very varying rates, 10, 20 and even 30 per cent. His accounts, so far as available on this point, are not complete, but they show that some at least of the Dutch and English underwriters promptly paid up, on her loss being ascertained.

The crew varied from 24 to 26, and sometimes, with passengers, there must have been 30 persons on board. The ship started with an all-English crew, but several of the men died or deserted during the voyages in the East, and were replaced by half-castes and natives of India and of the Malay Archipelago, and also by Dutchmen, of which last some were in the ship on her capture in the North Sea.

Among the papers is Bowrey's summary of the accounts in settlement of the affairs of the *Mary Galley*, which shows him as a fair dealer with those who were in his employ. It is pleasant to think that, despite the hardship of losing his ship by capture, just as she was approaching home waters, after an absence of nearly three years, he settled faithfully with all he could reach of his crew within eighteen months of the date on which his liability was proved. His officers and men at any rate were not to be losers by his personal misfortunes.

Despite also his quarrel with his captain, Joseph Tolson, Bowrey was not harsh with him in his pecuniary dealings.

The settlement with Tolson shows that he was not charged in the accounts with liability as a part-owner for the wages of the seamen, nor with the allowances paid to his wife while absent, nor with the payment by Bowrey made on his behalf to the chief mate, Richard Griffin. The result of these voluntary concessions was that when the account was settled, Bowrey paid Tolson £92. 8s. 9d., which could hardly have been strictly due. Withal Bowrey seems to have been a kindly and large-minded man, and with this view of him I close this account of the Story of the *Mary Galley*.



Photographed at the Museum

THE CUSTOM HOUSE OF 1714, SHOWING A VESSEL OF THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MARY GALLY
From a print in the Science Museum, South Kensington

CHAPTER I

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONSTRUCTION, LAUNCHING, EQUIPMENT AND INSURANCE OF THE *MARY GALLEY* IN 1704

The Birth of the Ship

ON 25 March 1704, Captain Thomas Bowrey met Richard Wells, a shipwright of Rotherhithe, at the Jerusalem Coffee House, and there made an agreement with him for the building of a ship 79 ft. 2 in. long and 21 ft. 6 in. broad at the gun deck. It was to be launched at the last spring tide of June in the same year, and its cost was to be £732. 5s. and a piece of silver plate to the builder, for which £30 was eventually paid. The contract was witnessed by Elizabeth Collingswood, apparently on behalf of Thomas Bowrey, and by William Bufton, Notary Public, on behalf of Richard Wells.

The ship in question was to be a galley, and with regard to this species of craft, Mr G. S. Laird Clowes, who is in charge of the collection of Ship-Models in the Science Museum, has supplied the following illuminating note.

The merchant galley used in England in the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries bore little or no resemblance, excepting in name, to the galleys employed in the Mediterranean. The latter were vessels which depended primarily on oars for their progress, although they hoisted two or three large lateen sails when the wind was fair and when they were not in the presence of the enemy. These galleys were derived, with comparatively small changes, from the galleys [*galea*, *galeia*] of the Romans.

The English merchant galleys were "small low straight ships of light draught easily moved by oars or sweeps¹." They were in no way peculiar in carrying sweeps, for the smaller men-of-war of the early part of the eighteenth century were fitted with a complete row of oar-ports, while large men-of-war occasionally employed a few sweeps right up to the introduction of steam power,

¹ Leslie, *Life aboard a British Privateer in the Time of Queen Anne*, p. 5.

but as is stated in the Address of the House of Lords to Queen Anne in 1707/8¹, "These ships are built for sailing, and also to row with oars, they carry more goods than are proper for sailing, and carry twice the number of men that a common sailing ship does" In short, they relied on oars more than was customary at the time. On account of their handiness, a number of these galleys had been taken into the Navy, and it was the inconvenience caused to merchants by this action which gave rise to the above-mentioned Address.

Merchant galleys were employed in the Navy, particularly from Bristol, until the close of the eighteenth century² Pepys, in his list of Naval Officers 1660-88, describes the ships *Charles* and *James* both as galleys and as galley-frigates. The last galley to be employed in the Navy was the *Mary* galley, built in 1744, a ship of about four times the tonnage of the subject of this description.

Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* of 1769 states that "Frigate-built implies the disposition of the decks of such merchant ships as have a descent of four or five steps from the quarter-deck and forecastle into the waist, in contradistinction to those whose decks are on a continual line for the whole length of the ship, which are called galley-built"

Although the *Mary Galley* was not strictly speaking flush-decked, she would probably come within Falconer's definition (see the article *Flush*) as, owing to her great cabin, steerage and forecastle being on the "lower" or orlop deck, the drop at the waist from the "quarter-deck" to the "gun deck" was only two feet. To assist her in calms or light winds, she carried eight large oars or sweeps, as mentioned in Paper 20 (p. 181).

The vessel was a very small ship of only 141 tons, smaller than any of the ordinary naval vessels of the period, and was built with a straight stern with no overhanging counter, nor with any projection on the quarter, such as would increase the cabin space, nor had she any poop. She also appears to have had a straight stem without beak or figure-head. Her normal armament, as will be seen from Paper 26, consisted of six iron guns, mounted on gun-carriages, three on each side, in the waist of the ship, on the "gun deck," and four small swivel guns on the upper deck or quarter-deck, mounted on "timber heads."

At that period many quite small vessels were ship-rigged, and the *Mary Galley* seems, if the details of rigging (see *Addendum* to Paper I, p. 137) apply to her, to have been fitted in the same way as the small ship shown in John Harris's *Prospect of the Custom House*

¹ Charnock, *Hist. of Marine Architecture*, 1802, III, 82

² See *The Mariner's Mirror*, I, 223, 254; II, 187, 212.

of 1714 (see Illustration, No. 8). This vessel, whose hull corresponds very closely with the specifications of the *Mary Galley*, is rigged with bowsprit, fore mast and fore topmast, main mast and main topmast, and mizen mast. The lower masts and topmasts are, however, shown as continuous poles, while in the *Mary Galley* they were separate spars. She spread a square fore course, fore topsail, main course and main topsail, and a triangular lateen mizen sail on her short mast aft. In the absence of a square mizen topsail, she resembled the vessels of the Elizabethan period, although, in the course of the seventeenth century, this sail had become universal in larger vessels. Her bowsprit carried a square spritsail, a head-sail which, even in so small a vessel, had not yet been replaced by the triangular jib or fore staysail.

In general, the sails of the *Mary Galley* must have closely resembled those of the barques which became common about the middle of the nineteenth century, though it must be remembered that the barque of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a Mediterranean rig of a very different nature.

TONNAGE

On the method of calculating tonnage, Mr Laird Clowes writes to me as follows:

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the tonnage of a ship indicated the number of tuns of wine which the vessel was able to carry in her hold, and by an Act of Parliament of 1423 it was laid down that a tun of wine was not to contain less than 252 gallons, Old English measurement. This corresponds to an internal capacity of a little over 40 cubic feet, or, if allowance is made for the cask itself, of about 42 cubic feet, a measure which was fixed as representing a ton of shipping by Louis XIV of France in 1687. A "freight ton" of 40 cubic feet is still in use amongst shippers¹.

In the seventeenth century it appears to have become usual to calculate a vessel's tonnage from her main dimensions, but as the calculation involved an allowance for the space wasted between the tuns or casks as they would be stowed in the hold, and another, and more difficult, allowance for the variation of the ship from a rectangular block (a factor now called the block coefficient), it is not surprising that calculations differed widely and that, according to Charnock, the tonnage of the *Royal Sovereign* of 1637 was stated at anything between 1683 and 1141 tons.

¹ See Holmes, *Ancient and Modern Ships*, 1906, Part II, Appendix II.

In 1694, however, an Act was passed, under which the tonnage of English merchant ships was to be obtained by multiplying the length of keel by the breadth and again by the depth in hold, and then dividing the product by 94. By this rule the tonnage of the

Mary Galley was $\frac{63 \times 21.5 \times 9.8}{94} = 141$ tons. By 1711, however,

when Sutherland's *Shipbuilders Assistant* was published, the above rule was often modified so as to substitute the half breadth for the depth, while the length of keel employed was no longer the simple measurement from heel of sternpost to touch of keel, but a more complicated calculation which also involved a function of the breadth. Full details are to be found on p. 76 of the above-named work, the last two paragraphs of which are worth quoting as illustrating the uncertainties which still existed in the methods of calculation.

"The half Breadth is made use of instead of the Depth in Hold which was formerly used; but then the Ship's Depth in Hold and half Breadth were very nearly equal, and now it is general to take the largest.

"But not to enter upon Disputes, the Length as aforesaid is multiplied by the Breadth, and again by half that Breadth, and the Sum being divided by 94, the Quotient is the Tonnage of the Ship for either sharp or full¹ ships, Merchant-men or Men of War."

No application of Sutherland's rule, however, will bring the tonnage of the *Mary Galley* up to the 167 or 170 tons with which she is credited in the Papers², and it would therefore seem that the methods of estimation were still either more indefinite, or less universal, than Sutherland would have us believe.

¹ Sharp, having a narrow and wedge-shaped bottom; full, having a rounded outline.

² Papers 3 and 4 give 167 tons, and Paper 28 gives 170 tons.

'THE MARY GALLEY'
A Draft of the Cabins, etc., by Thomas Bowrey, 1704

*Paper 1.***[Articles of Agreement.]**

ARTICLES of Agreement mutually made Contracted and Agreed unto this twenty fifth day of March Anno Domini seaventeen hundred and four and In the third Year of the Reigne of Our Sovereigne Lady Ann by the grace of God Queen of England &c. BETWEEN Richard Wells¹ of Rotherhith in the County of Surry Shipwright of the One parte and Captaine Thomas Bowrey of London Merchant of the other parte.

WHEREIN Its mutually Agreed between the said parties and first of all the said Richard Wells for himself his Executors and administrators Doth Covenant promise and agree to and with the said Captain Thomas Bowrey and his Executors administrators and assignes by these presents in manner and forme following².

THAT is to say That he the said Richard Wells his Executors Administrators workmen and Assignes for the Considerations herein after Expressed shall and will at their or One of their Owne proper Costs and Charges in good substantiall and Workmanlike manner build or Cause to be built for the said Captain Thomas Bowrey his Executors Administrators or Assignes One Good New and Substantiall Ship Or Vessell To be and Containe the demensions following: That is to say in Length by the keel³ from the touch⁴ of the sweep⁵ to the back of the maine

¹ Bowrey had already had dealings with Richard Wells as early as 1701, when he had built a "New Sloop" for "Thomas Bowrey and Company" at the cost of £14 15s. 6d. At that date Wells was apparently working for Richard Rothwell & Co., to whom the bill was paid in October 1701. By 1704 Wells seems to have started business on his own account.

² Nearly all the notes on this paper have been contributed by Mr Laird Clowes, and the remainder has been revised by him.

³ "Length by the keel," "breadth by the beam" and "depth in hold" were the factors then used in the determination of tonnage, and consequently those generally quoted as defining the size of a vessel. Cf *Catalogue of Pepysian MSS.* 1, 266 *et seq*

⁴ "Touch of the sweep," commonly called "the touch," was the point where the curve or sweep of the stem "touched" the horizontal keel. At this time the "length by the keel" used in the calculation of tonnage was measured from this point to the heel of the stern post. Touch: "the rising of the Keel, by Shipwrights called the Touch, or Place where the Keel's upper Part ends to be streight" (Sutherland, *Shipbuilders Assistant*, 1711, p. 25)

⁵ "Sweep," an arc or curved line used in a plan to indicate the shape of the timbers, here means the sweep or curve of the stem. Sweeps are defined in Knowles' *Naval Arch.* 1822, as "the various parts of the bodies shaped by segments of circles."

post¹ to be sixty three foot and the main breadth from Outside to Outside of the Outer plank² to be twenty One foot Six Inches. The depth in hold from plank to plank³ to be Nine foot Nine Inches and highth between decks⁴ to be three foot three Inches. The Rake⁵ of the stem⁶ to be twelve foot Eight Inches and of the post⁷ three foot six Inches⁸, and the depth of the wast⁹ to be two foot.

The Demensions and Scantlings¹⁰ of the timber, plank¹¹ and

¹ "Back of the maine post" means heel of the main stern-post, aft of which a false post was sometimes fitted. "Stern-post, the principal piece of timber in the stern frame, on which the rudder is hung" (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

² "Maine breadth from Outside to Outside of the Outer plank" was the maximum breadth of the ship measured from outside her external planking on both sides. The "extreme breadth" which was sometimes employed was that measured outside the wales, longitudinal beams which were attached outside the external planking as a protection near the water-line.

³ "Depth in hold from plank to plank" was measured just forward of the main mast and, in the case of this vessel, from the lower side of the planking of the gun deck to the upper side of the planking of the ceiling, which formed the bottom of the hold and was laid on the floor timbers.

By "Depth in hold" the height between the floor and lower deck is meant. This is one of the principal dimensions given for the construction of a ship. See Knowles, *op. cit.*

⁴ "Highth between decks" is the height of the subsidiary or orlop deck below the main structural or gun deck. Knowles, *op. cit.*, defines "Between decks" as the space between any two decks of a ship, and "Orlop" as a temporary deck below the lower deck of large ships, chiefly for the convenience of stowing away cables. He adds, "There is also a platform in the midships of smaller ships, called the Orlop, and for the same purpose."

⁵ The "Rake of the stem" and stern post is defined in Sutherland's *Shipbuilders Assistant*, 1711, as that part of the ship's hull that is extended fore and aft from the straight or horizontal line of the keel.

⁶ "Stem . . . the main timber at the fore part of the ship . . . erected vertically to receive the ends of the bow planks . . . Its lower end scarphs or boxes into the keel" (Knowles, *op. cit.*)

⁷ "Post" is the same as main post above mentioned (note 1), i.e. the stern post.

⁸ I read that the keel from stem to stern is to be 63 ft. and that the rake is to be 12 ft. 8 in. plus 3 ft. 6 in. equals 16 ft. 2 in., so that the gun deck would be 63 ft. plus 16 ft. 2 in.; a very small vessel.

⁹ The "wast" or waist was that part of the upper (here the only) gun deck which was not covered by quarter-deck or forecabin; it extended from near the main mast to abaft the fore mast.

¹⁰ Compare Sutherland, *Shipbuilders Assistant*, 1711, p. 69: "The Scantling or measuring of the Timbers of a Ship. At the Request of some particular Gentlemen I have annex'd the Old accustomed Scantling (or fitting of every particular Part) of a ship . . ."

¹¹ The "timber" was the framing of the ship, as opposed to the "plank" or planking which covered the frame.

materialls to be as follows (*vizt.*): The keel to be nine Inches Square and to have three foot and a half scarf¹. To have a falce keel² of two inch Elm plank, the stem and stern post proportionable, with suftient dead wood³ and a stern knee⁴ bolted with three Quarter bolts⁵. The flower timbers⁶ to be Eight inches fore and aft and five Inches and a half moulded at wrongheads⁷ for Six or Eight timbers in the midships, and all the rest to be Six Inches fore and aft Timber and Roome⁸ to be nineteen Inches. The timbers to be bolted with three quarter bolts The Lower futtocks to be the same with the flower [timbers] and to have four foot Scarf. The midle futtocks to be proportionably. The uper futtocks to be five inches fore and aft and four Inches and a half In and Out, and the toptimbers to be of the same demensions. The kelson⁹ to be nine Inches Thwartships and Eight Inches up and Downe and bolted with three Quarter bolts.

¹ "Scarfig, the letting of one piece of timber or plank into another with a lap, in such a manner, that both may appear as one solid and even surface, as heel-pieces, stern-pieces, clamps, etc." (Knowles, *op cit*).

² "False keel" a second keel composed of elm-plank or thick stuff, fastened in a slight manner under the main keel to prevent it from being rubbed. . ." (Knowles, *op cit*).

³ "Dead wood. that part of the basis of a ship's body, forward and aft, which is formed by solid pieces of timber scarfed together lengthwise on the keel" (Knowles, *op cit*).

⁴ "Stern knee," sternson. In a wooden vessel the sternson is the knee-shaped timber fitted into the angle formed by the junction of stern post and kelson, in order to secure the joint

⁵ Three bolts of a quarter fathom in length. Quarter is a nautical term for a quarter fathom.

⁶ The "flower timbers" or floor timbers, the "Lower futtocks" or lower futtock timbers, the "midle futtocks" or middle futtock timbers, the "uper futtocks" or upper futtock timbers and the "toptimbers" form the successive members, from the keel upwards to the deck, of the timbers or ribs of a vessel.

⁷ "Wrongheads," rungheads or wrung-heads, were the junctions of the floor timbers with the lower futtock timbers. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, defines "Wrung-heads" as "that part between the floor-timber head and second foot-hook [futtock] heel, which, if a ship lies on the ground, bears the greatest strain." It will be noted that the floor timbers amidships were to be wider than those forward and aft.

⁸ "Rooms, the different vacancies between timbers . ." (Knowles, *op. cit.*). "Timber and Roome to be nineteen Inches" means that there was to be 19 in. between the similar faces of successive timbers along the vessel's side

⁹ "Kelson or more commonly Kelson, the timber formed of long squared pieces of oak, fixed within the ship exactly over the keel...for binding and strengthening the lower part of the ship, for which purpose it is fitted to, and laid upon, the middle of the floor timbers, and bolted through the floors and keel" (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

THE CEILING¹ in hold to be three strakes² of three inch plank at wrongheads in the midships, and from thence to the keelson with Inch and half plank, Only One strake next the timber boards of two Inch plank. To have One strake of three inch plank for Clamps³ on each side and all the rest in hold to be Inch and half plank. The beams⁴ of the gun deck⁵ to be nine Inches fore and aft and Seaven Inches up and downe and to lye four foot asunder, and to be well kneed with four Lodging knees⁶ to each beame and bolted with four three Quarter bolts in each knee. The flatt of the deck⁷ to be Laid with two inch Spruce deal The water wayes⁸ of the Said Deck to be three Inch plank. The upper deck⁹ Clamps to be two inch and half plank and the beams to be seaven inches for[e] and aft and Six inches up and downe, and the deck to be Laid with two Inch Spruce. To have a rice [rise]¹⁰ for the forecastle and Steeridge and beams proportionable. To have One strake of two in[c]h plank for spirketting¹¹ with a string¹² in the

¹ Ceiling or footwaling, the inside planks of the bottom of the ship laid over the floor timbers.

² "Strakes" Sutherland, *op cit*, defines strake as "one breadth of such materials [plank] wrought, either within or without board, from one end of the ship to the other."

³ "Clamps, those substantial strakes worked within side the ship, upon which the ends of the beams are placed" (Knowles, *op cit*).

⁴ "Beams, the substantial pieces of timber which stretch across the ship, from side to side, to support the decks and keep the ship together by means of the knees, etc., their ends being lodged on the clamps, keeping the ship to her breadth" (Knowles, *op cit*).

⁵ The gun deck was the main structural deck of this vessel.

⁶ Knee, a piece of timber naturally bent, used to secure parts of a ship together, especially one with an angular bend used to connect the beams and timbers. Lodging-knee, a horizontal, in contradistinction to a hanging or vertical knee

⁷ "The flatt of the deck" means the central portion of the deck along a fore and aft line.

⁸ "Water wayes" are defined by Sutherland (*op cit*) as "thick planks channel'd or gutter'd, and fixed on the decks next to the ship's side"

⁹ In this small vessel the "upper deck" covered the "Steeridge" and "great Cabb'n." In other Papers (see No 17, 25 September, and No. 20b) it is called the quarter-deck.

¹⁰ This means that the "forecastle" and the "upper deck," which covered the "Steeridge," were raised above the gun deck, which formed the uppermost deck in the waist.

¹¹ "Spirketting, a thick strake, or strakes, wrought within side upon the ends of the beams or waterways. In ships that have ports, the spirketting reaches from the waterways to the upper side of the lower sill..." (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

¹² "String, one or two planks withinside, next under the gunwale, answering to the sheer-strake withoutside..." (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

wast of two Inch plank, and to shutt in the spircketting and string with inch and half deal. To have suficient partners¹ for the masts.

WITHOUT board² to plank the Said Ship or Vessell with two inch English plank from the keel to the Wales³ and two strakes above the wales, and from thence to the top of the side with Inch and half deal. The Wales to be each of them seaven Inches broad and five Inches In and Out and to be faid⁴ One upon the Other.

To Raile [the] Gunwale⁵ and plank [the] shear⁶ [of] the said Ship or Vessell for[e] and aft. To make a Compleat Elm Windles [windlass] With Palls⁷. To fix a Capstern [capstan] and Gallows⁸ at the forcastle and maine Mast. To make a well⁹ and three hatchwayes.

To fix hatches, Comings¹⁰, gratings, Ladders, Railbitts¹¹,

¹ "Partners, pieces fixed to steddly the masts and capstans, having a hole through each to receive the same" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*).

² "Without-board, on the outside" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*).

³ "Wales, the principal strakes of thick stuff, wrought on the outside of the ship upon the main breadth or the broadest part of the body. . ." (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

⁴ "Faid," fayed, fitted closely and accurately. To fay (now obsolete) "to fitt two pieces of wood so as to join close together" (Murray. *Ship-building*, p 188)

⁵ "Gunwale," the upper edge of a ship's side

⁶ "Plank [the] shear" means to plank the sheerstrake. Knowles, *op. cit.*, defines "Sheer-strake" as "the strake or strakes wrought in the top-side, of which the upper edge is wrought well with the toptimber line, or top of the side, and the lower edge kept well with the upper part of the upper deck ports in midships. . . ." It is the uppermost strake of the outside planking and follows the sheer of the ship from bow to stein

⁷ Pawls, short stout bars made to engage whelps, and prevent a capstan, windlass or winch from recoiling

⁸ Gallows, the cross-pieces on the small bitts at the main and fore hatch-ways in flush-decked vessels, for stowing away the booms and spars over the boats.

⁹ "Well, the apartment formed in the middle of the hold, by bulkheads erected to inclose the pumps, and protect them from injury. . ." (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

¹⁰ "Comings," combings, or more commonly, coamings, are "the raised borders of oak about the edge of the hatches and scuttles, which prevent water from flowing down from off the deck" (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

¹¹ "Bitts," strong posts fastened in pairs in the deck of a ship for fastening the sails, cables, etc. Rail-bitts were bitts fixed near the rails; they were afterwards replaced by fife-rails.

Chanells¹, Chestrees², step³, and What else as usuall for such a vessell. To have three pair of Standards⁴ on the Lower deck and make as many Ports [portholes] as Convenient. To have twelve timber heads Iron bound for small guns⁵. To compleat all manner of Shipwrights Caulker and Joyners Work as is needfull for the boddy and hull thereof. To find all such Iron Work As is usuall. To find and provide a good sute of masts and Yards fitt and Convenient for such a vessell with Cleets⁶, wedging and Caulking the Masts and pump. To find all Plumers, glaziers, Carvers and Painters work for the great Cabbın, steeridge, for castle [forecastle], &c. as usuall. To make partitions and Lockers in the great Cabbın as desired and in the steeridge⁷. To have a bread roome Lined and a saile Roome. To make sixteen Cabbins, and Cradles⁸ if desired, with Lockers Convenient, and a Lazeretto⁹,

¹ "Channels, the broad projection or assemblage of planks, fayed [joined] and bolted to the ship's sides, for the purpose of spreading the shrouds with a greater angle to the dead-eyes" (Knowles, *op. cit.*). Channels is a corruption of chain-wales. The chains which formed the lower portions of the shrouds, the transverse supports of the masts, were extended by the channels. In the nineteenth century the term "chains" replaced "channels."

² "Chestrees, pieces of oak timber stayed and bolted to the topsides, one on each side, abaft the fore-channels, with a sheave fitted in the upper part for the convenience of hauling home the main tack" (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

³ "Steps of the masts; large pieces of timber fitted at the bottom of the ship to steady and secure the lower part of each mast, which is also called step" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*).

⁴ Standard, an inverted knee-timber having the vertical portion turned upwards

⁵ "Timber heads Iron bound for small guns." These vertical timbers projecting above the deck were each fitted with an iron cap and a socket in which could be inserted the pivot of a swivel gun.

⁶ "Cleets," cleat, originally a small wedge of wood bolted on its side to a spar, etc., that it may by the thickness of its head stop anything from slipping, or serve as a point of attachment or resistance. The name is extended to pieces of wood of various shapes, bolted into parts of the ship for securing the ends of ropes, etc.

⁷ From the "draft of the Cabins &c." (see Illustration, No. 9), the "steeridge" is seen to be that part of the cabin accommodation which lies between the "Lazereto," "Cookroom," and "Sail room" and the "Great Cabin."

⁸ Cradle, a standing bedstead for a wounded seaman instead of a hammock.

⁹ "Lazeretto; a place on board of a merchant ship, for the convenience of the commander, as store-rooms are on board of men-of-war, to lay up the provisions and necessaries for the voyage" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*). In this vessel the lazaretto occupied part of the forward end of the cabin-space aft. In the nineteenth century merchantmen the lazaretto was a store below the captain's cabin.

with a Quarter deck table and binacle¹, and two hen-coops².

The forecastle, steeridge and great Cabbın to be On the Lower deck³ The great Cabbın to be six foot high Aaft. The said ship or Vessell to be well built for sailing and all the timber and plank To be sound and Well seasoned. To have four breast hooks⁴ afore and a Crutch⁵ abaft, with seaven bolts in each hook of a three Quarter bolt.

And safly to Launch the Said ship or Vessell by the Last spring Tide in June next ensueing the date hereof.

IN CONSIDERATION for all and every the said Work, The said Captain Thomas Bowrey for himself his Executors and Administrators doth Covenant promise and agree To and With the said Richard Wells, his Executors, Administrators and Assignes In manner following:

That is to say, That he, the Said Captain Bowrey his Executors, Administrators, some or One of them, shall and will well and truly pay or Cause to be paid unto the said Richard Wells his Executors, Administrators or assignes The sume of seaven hundred and thirty two pounds 5s. of good and lawfull money of England in Manner following:

That is to say, One hundred and fifty pounds at Ensealing this Contract. One hundred and fifty pounds more of Lawfull money When planked up to the wrong head⁶. One hundred and fifty pounds more of Like Lawfull money when the Wales are about⁷, and One hundred and fifty pounds more of like money When the uper deck is Laid. The full Residue and Remain[d]er Thereof when Lanshed [launched] and finished. And over and above the

¹ "Binacle (formerly bitacle), a wooden case or chest which contains the compasses and lights to show them by night, etc." (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

² See Illustration, No. 9.

³ That is, to have their floors on the lower or olop deck, 3 ft. 6 in. below the gun deck in the waist of the vessel. As the depth of the waist was 2 ft., the height of the forecastle and of the forward end of the steerage was 5 ft. 6 in., which was increased to 6 ft. aft in the great cabin, owing to the rise in the sheer of the vessel.

⁴ "Breast-hooks, large pieces of compass [curved] timber fixed within and athwart the bows of the ship, of which they are the principal security, and through which they are well bolted" (Knowles, *op. cit.*)

⁵ "Crutches or Clutches, the crooked timbers fayed [joined] and bolted upon the footwaling [futting or ceiling, the inside planking of the ship's bottom], abaft for the security of the heels of the half-timbers" (Knowles, *op. cit.*).

⁶ That is, when planked up to the heads of the floor timbers.

⁷ When the planking is complete to above the water-line and the wales have been laid outside this planking.

said summe of seaven hundred thirty two pounds 5 shillings, shall give unto the Said Richard Wells at the Last payment one peece of silver plate Vallue [blank] pounds sterling.

For the true performance of every the said Covenants each of the said Parties bindeth himself his Executors and Administrators unto the Other his Executors Administrators and Assignes firmly by these present[s].

IN WITNESS whereof each of the said parties have hereunto Interchaingably sett to their hands and seals the day and Year first above written.

And Moreover the said Richard Wells shall find and provide three Anchor stocks.

RID. WELLS

SEALED

SEALED and Delivered in Presence of us being Duple stamp¹

Elizabeth Collingswood X her mark²
at the Jerusalem Coffee house³

William Bufton Notary Pub:
Mr. Wells Servant⁴

[Endorsed] Capt. Bowreys Contract for building with Mr. Wells.

¹ The seal is apparently that of Richard Wells. The document is stamped with two sixpenny embossed stamps, a Tudor Rose within "Honi soit qui mal y pense," surmounted by a Royal Crown.

² The writing of the signature made on behalf of Elizabeth Collingswood, probably one of the attendants at the Jerusalem Coffee House, is the same as that of some additions and corrections in the contract.

³ The Jerusalem Coffee House in Exchange Alley was a favourite resort of merchants at this date. For other references, see *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. VI, 85 (1920).

⁴ The words "at the Jerusalem Coffee house" and "Mr. Wells Servant" are added in Bowrey's writing. The term "Servant" seems unsuitable to apply to a notary public, but Bowrey is probably using it in its obsolete sense of "assistant."

Addendum to Paper 1.[A Note on the Rigging required for Small Ships¹.]

(1)

120 Tunns: the Standing Rigen² as followeth:

- No. 1 Mayne shrouds³—Coyle 4½ Inches⁴
 2 fore shrouds a Coyle 4 Inches
 5 {Mizen Stay and maine topmast Stay Mizzen shrouds and
 {maine topmast backstays—a Coyle 3½ Inches
 7 {Fore topmast Stay maintopmast shrouds and fore top-
 {mast back Stayes Coyle 2¾ Inches
 9 Fore topmast shrouds a Coyle 2½ Inches
 A {Mayne stay 7 Inches 9 fathom
 13 {
 B {Fore Stay and Coller 6 Inches 10 fathom⁵

(2)

70 Tunns: the Standing Rigen as followeth:

- No 3 Maine shrouds 4 Inches a Coyle
 4 Fore shrouds—3½ Inches a Coyle
 6 {Mizen Stay and maintopmast Stay Mizzen shrouds and
 {maine topmast back stayes a Coyle 3 Inches
 8 {Fore topmast stay Maine topmast shrouds and fore-
 {topmast back stayes—a Coyle 2½ Inches
 10 Fore topmast shrouds a Coyle 2 Inches
 13 {Mayne Stay 6 Inches 8 fathom
 {Fore Stay and Coller 5½ Inches 9 fathom

¹ This unsigned and undated document was found among the Bowrey papers and alludes to the rigging of two separate ships: one of 120 tons and one of 70 tons. The rigging of the ship of 120 tons appears to correspond very closely with that of the *Mary Galley* of 141 tons, even if it is not her actual rigging.

It is on the supposition that it does refer to the *Mary Galley* that I have inserted it here. I have not been able to ascertain the name of the ship to which the rigging for a vessel of 70 tons refers.

The notes on this document have been supplied by Mr Laird Clowes.

² Standing rigging is that which supports the masts.

³ The shrouds support the masts transversely and the stays support them longitudinally from forward, while the backstays give both transverse and longitudinal support from aft.

⁴ These sizes of ropes are measured by their diameter, a coil of rope up to 4½ in. was 120 fathoms long and hawsers above that size were 150 fathoms long.

⁵ From the items it is seen that the ship had three masts with topmasts on the fore and main masts, but without a topmast on the mizen. No mention is made of the bowsprit, probably because the bobstay, although introduced into large ships at the end of the seventeenth century, had not yet become usual in very small vessels, and consequently the bowsprit had no standing rigging.

(3)

The forsail fifteen Cloaths¹ by the head and twentie five foot deep
 The Mainsail seventeen Cloaths by the head and twentie seven
 foot and halff deep

The Maintopsail ten Cloaths by the head and fortie t[w]o foot by
 the foot and thirtie foot deepe

The fortopsail² twentisix foot fowr in chess by the depth and thirtie
 six and halff by the foot and twentie fowr by the head

The Owners of the Ship

We learn from a letter written by Bowrey to his wife at Bath, on 30 May 1704, that "The Ship goes forward apace, for which reason I cannot possible come to you." Again, on 8 June, probably in reply to Mrs Bowrey's repeated request for him to join her, he wrote: "I cannot possible be so long absent from the Ship as a Journey to the Bath does require, elce would very gladly be with you." These remarks show that, in addition to Captain Tolson, Bowrey was personally supervising the construction of the vessel, which was nearing completion. He appears to have paid Richard Wells according to contract and to have given him his piece of silver plate as promised (see Paper 12), this last being probably presented at the "Lanching Dinner" on 22 July (see Paper 22).

He next proceeded to unload his financial responsibility, ostensibly to his own considerable profit, for he had evidently induced six other persons to join him in owning the ship, as on 29 June 1704 a joint agreement between himself and the "Subscribers" was drawn up, apparently at "the Garter Coffee House behind the Exchange." These subscribers were himself $1/2$ the adventure, George Jackson $1/12$, Thomas

¹ In the eighteenth century a "cloth" of sail-cloth for the navy was 24 in. wide (see Steel's *Rigging and Seamanship*, 1794, I, 86), but other sizes, varying between 18 and 27 in. were used at different times. From a comparison between the feet of the topsails and the heads of the courses the "cloth" here referred to would appear to measure 30 in. in width.

² The sails, consisting of "square" foresail, foretopsail, mainsail, maintopsail and a triangular lateen mizen sail, which is not here mentioned, gave the vessel very much the appearance of the barque of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Although no square headsail is mentioned, it is seen from Paper 17, 1 August, that the *Mary Galley* carried a square spritsail on the bowsprit.

Hammond $1/12$, Joseph Tolson $1/6$, Elias Grist $1/24$, Richard Tolson $1/24$ and Elias Dupuy $1/12$.

The ship was then valued at £3000 and her cargo at £3000 more, making a total of £6000 as the capital of the owners, and she was to be employed on a voyage to India as a separate stock ship, that is to say she was to be an "interloper" as regarded the East India Company's trade. Each subscriber was to deposit 25 per cent. of his subscription in the Bank of England and "deliver such Noats" to Bowrey "for the use of this Intended voyage." Bowrey took £3000 of the capital, so the total of his friends' subscriptions was the remainder or another £3000. Therefore 25 per cent. of the deposits of the six subscribers, excluding Bowrey, made £750 as cash available for the voyage, according to the agreement.

For his trouble and expense in providing the ship at his own charges (about £760) and "Projecting and drawing instructions" for the intended voyage, Bowrey was to have "five Guineas per Cent. on the whole amount of the Ship and Cargo" (see Paper 2), *i.e.* $5\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on £6000 or £315. So on paper he did very well, as he recovered half his initial charges at once, and he was, with two others, "who does not goe in the Ship," to be manager of both ship and cargo. In practice, however, we shall see that he did not do so well for himself as he had evidently hoped.

The ship, with her cargo, thus valued at £6000, should have started on her voyage with seven owners in the following proportions:

	£
Thomas Bowrey $1/2$	£3000
George Jackson $1/12$	500
Thomas Hammond $1/12$	500
Joseph Tolson $1/6$	1000
Elias Grist $1/24$	250
Richard Tolson $1/24$	250
Elias Dupuy $1/12$	500
	<hr/> £6000

Of these sums, every owner, except Bowrey, was to pay 25 per cent. "on application," as we should say nowadays,

but there is nothing extant to show that this was actually done. In fact, the evidence, which is, however, not altogether satisfactory, is rather the other way. We find from Bowrey's private account book that his brother owners were slow in payment of their shares, and apparently only one had paid in full by July 1706.

Extracts from this account book, printed below, show that on 31 March 1704, within a week after Bowrey's agreement with Richard Wells, the builder, Joseph Tolson had paid him £200 on account in advance: no doubt to help his friend and in gratitude for his appointment as captain. Then, on the day of the meeting of owners (29 June 1704), only Hammond and Jackson paid anything, *viz.* £62. 10s. each, as an instalment. On 14 July Grist, who was "given by Owners to goe purser" of the ship, paid £31. 5s.; on 27 July, after the ship had been launched, Richard Tolson paid £31. 5s.; and on 1 Sept., Dupuy paid £125: all these payments were instalments. By 29 June 1706 the instalments that had been received were, in round numbers, as follows:

	£	s.	d.
George Jackson	340	0	0
Thomas Hammond	340	0	0
Joseph Tolson	410	0	0
Elias Grist	170	0	0
Richard Tolson	220	0	0
Elias Dupuy	340	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£1820	0	0

It will be perceived that this sum is a long way below £3000, to which they had subscribed at the owners' meeting. In Bowrey's private account book entries for other transactions with the owners have been mixed up with entries of instalments towards their shares, rendering it necessary to be careful to eliminate them in making out the above account. Thus, on 16 October 1704, there is an entry referring to Joseph Tolson of £274, of which £96 only was an instalment of his share. Dupuy's payment of £340 is made up of £125 paid by him and of £215 entered by Bowrey against 24

October 1704 thus: "By Cash received of Mr. Elias Dupuy als. [*sic*] Goods account 1/12 [his share], £215."

The above statements as to the value of the shares of the owners, other than Bowrey, cannot be very far wrong, since such accounts as are now available (see Papers 12-14) tend to show that the sum of £6000 as the capital in the Articles of Association was a pure estimate, and that the real capital by the time the ship got to sea on her first voyage was about £4000, of which about £2550 was the value of the ship as equipped. By 1 January 1706 Bowrey's interest in her, according to his private account book, was £2000, which leaves about another £2000 as capital belonging to the other owners.

This failure on the part of his brother owners to subscribe all that they promised seems to have placed Bowrey in some difficulty in finding cash for the building and equipping the *Mary Galley* and for supplying her cargo. From extracts from his private accounts, dated 1 January 1706, we find that he had a bottomry, that is a borrowing on the security of his ship, with Mr Edwards on 12 October 1704, for money lent, £500, and another with Mr Phineas Bowles on 14 July 1705 for £75. We have also a "Defeizance Bond," dated 11 October 1704, for £750 to Francis Edwards, evidently relating to the first of the above transactions and showing that Bowrey had borrowed that sum from him. We have further a "Defeizance" bond (see Paper 4) to Nicholas Crisp for £300 dated 29 October 1704. So it would appear that Bowrey borrowed £500 and £250, and £75, or £825, in 1704 and 1705 to help him to find cash for the purposes of the ship. On the other hand he had a bottomry bond in his own favour against Capt. Joseph Tolson (see Paper 5) for £50 in October 1704 for money lent him.

Of the two subscribers who, according to the Articles of Association, were to help Bowrey, one appears to have been Thomas Hammond, from whom we have letters in the correspondence that ensued during the construction of the ship, and the other from the indenture of Nicholas Crisp (see Paper 4), appears to have been George Jackson. Never-

theless, the whole body of the shareholders seem to have had a considerable voice in the proceedings, as they were to "meet every Tuesday and Thursday at three a'clock in the afternoon at Garter Coffe house behind the Exchange and oftner as need shall require" (see Paper 2). This was taking shareholders' responsibilities very heavily, but perhaps this provision in practice referred to Bowrey and his two advisers as a quorum, and even then it was evidently, from the correspondence, only carried out when "convenient."

The captain of the ship was to be Joseph Tolson, who was to have "Four per Cent Comission on the Groce Sale of the Cargoe at the Ships returne to England and Ten Pounds per Month Wages," in full of all perquisites and "all Priviledge of Freight or Private Trade [from] which he is utterly debarred." The "Wages" were to be really a subsistence allowance payable to his wife, Elizabeth Tolson, as among Bowrey's papers that have survived are two receipts made out by him and signed by Eliz. Tolson for £11 paid on 6 June 1705 and 7 January 1705-6 respectively for "one months wages for Captain Tolson and his Servant on board the *Mary Gally*."

Paper 2.

[Shareholders' Agreement¹.]

Wee the Subscribers being desirous to be concerned in a Ship and Cargoe, both to be about Three Thousand Pounds Value, to be Employed on a Voyage to East India by Permission of the Seperate Stock allowed by Act of Parliment² doe each of us for

¹ This document is in Thomas Bowrey's handwriting.

It has seven seals affixed to it, one to each of the seven signatures, each seal bearing the monogram TMB, probably for Thomas and Mary Bowrey. It is stamped in the same way as the Contract (see Paper 1). There is besides a rough draft of this Agreement, two-thirds of which is in another hand, and the remainder in Bowrey's writing.

² The reference is to the Act of 1698 (9 and 10 William III) entitled "An Act for raising a Sum, not exceeding Two Millions . . . and for settling a Trade in the East Indies." Each subscriber of £100 became a member of a "General Society," and as much support was received from free traders, it was provided that investors might trade individually as well as under the New (or English) East India Company. The names of Thomas Bowrey and Elias Dupuy both appear in the list of subscribers. See Shaw, *Charters relating to the East India Company*, pp. 124-56.

himselfe Subscribe for the respective Sums by us hereunder written on the following Conditions.

1. That the Ship for this Intended Voyage be a Ship now building at Mr Richard Wells for Thomas Bowrey one of the Subscribers
2. That Mr Joseph Tolson¹ one of the Subscribers shall be Captain of the said Ship for this intended Voyage and also Supra Cargoe.
3. That every person shall before his Subscribing pay Twenty five Pounds per Cent of his Subscription into the Bank of England and deliver such Noats to Thomas Bowrey aforesaid for the use of this Intended Voyage.
4. That all after payments shall be made as the Majority of the Subscribers shall appoint and any person failing soe to doe shall forfeit his first Payment to the use of the rest of the Subscribers, and any other person may make good such deficiency².
5. That Thomas Bowrey aforesaid and any Two more of the Subscribers who does not goe in the Ship shall have Power to manage all matters relating to this Ship and Cargoe.
6. That the Subscribers will meet every Tuesday and Thursday at three aclock in the afternoon at Garter Coffe house behind the Exchange³ and oftner as need shall require.
7. That Thomas Bowrey aforesaid shall have five Guineas per Cent on the whole amount of the Ship and Cargoe in consideration of his Contracting for said Ship and advancing his own Money for account said Ship and appurtenances and also for the Cargoe; and for his Projecting and drawing Instructions for the Voyage intended, and other troubles in the Outsett of Ship and Cargoe.
8. That the aforesaid Joseph Tolson shall have Four per Cent Comission on the Grocc Sale of the Cargoe at the Ships returne to England and Ten Pounds per Month Wages, which is in full for all Comission as Chiefe Supra Cargoe, for all Wages as Captain and in Lieu of all Priviledge of Freight or Private Trade which he is wholly debarred.

¹ No record has been found of Joseph Tolson's earlier marine experiences, but that his seamanship was sound there is ample proof in the following pages.

² This is a weak article, because as it stands the small shareholders might outvote the large ones. It looks as if Bowrey had not used legal advice in drawing it up.

³ The Garter Coffee House, behind the Exchange, is mentioned as late as 1739. See *Notes and Queries*, 13 June 1925, p. 426, for references.

In Wittness whereof wee have hereunto sett our Hands and Seales this Twenty ninth day of June in the Year of our Lord Jesus Christ One Thousand Seven Hundred and four.

Sealed and Delivered the Paper being
duely Stampd, In the Presence of

By Thomas Bowrey, George Jackson
Thomas Hammond and Joseph Tol-
son

Simon Duncalfe

Isaac Duncalfe

I Thos Bowrey for One
Halfe of the abovesaid
Adventure (SEAL)

I Geo. Jackson for one
twelfth part of said
Adventure (SEAL)

I Thos. Hammond for one
twelfth part of Said
Adventure (SEAL)

Jos. Tolson for one Sixth
part of the Said ad-
venture (SEAL)

Elias Grist for one Twenty
fourth part of the said
Adventure (SEAL)

Ri. Tolson for one Twenty
fowerth part of the said
Shipp (SEAL)

Elias Dupuy¹ &c. for one
twealft part (SEAL)

[Endorsed]

Articles of Agreement

Paper 3.

[Bowrey's "Defeizance Bond" to Francis Edwards, 1704.]

This Indenture made the Eleaventh day of October Anno Domini 1704 And in the Third yeare of our Sovereigne Lady Anne Queen of England &c.

BETWEENE Francis Edwards of London Esquire of the one part And Thomas Bowrey of London merchant of the other part.

WHEREAS the said Thomas Bowrey by Obligation of the date hereof stands bound unto the said Francis Edwards in One Thousand and Five hundred pounds Conditioned to pay the

¹ Of the signatories, Jackson, Hammond and Dupuy were London merchants, with all of whom Bowrey had commercial dealings. Thomas Hammond had a cousin, Captain Henry Hammond, who commanded the *Antelope* to and from Venice at this date. With him also Bowrey did business. Elias Dupuy was one of the shareholders in the ill-fated *Worcester* mentioned above (see p. 113).

summe of Seaven Hundred and Fifty pounds of lawfull money of England within thirty Dayes next after the arrivall in the River of Thames of the Ship or Vessell called the *Mary Galley* of the Burthen of One hundred sixty seaven Tuns¹ or thereabouts now in the River of Thames whereof Joseph Tolson is Comander from a certaine Voyage in the Condition of the said recited Obligation mentioned Or at the End of Thirty Six Calender Months to be accompted from the day of the date of the same Obligation (which should first happen) together with Twelve pounds and Ten shillings of like money per Month and soe proportionably for a greater or lesser time than a Month for all such time and so many Months as should be elapsed and run out of the said Thirty Six Months over and above Twenty Months to be accompted from the day of the date of the said Obligation unless the said Ship or Vessell in the said Voyage and within the said Thirty Six Months should happen to be utterly and unavoidably lost As by the said recited Obligation and the Condition thereof more at large may appear.

AND WHEREAS the said Thomas Bowrey by a Bill of Sale allso of the date hercof Did bargain and sell unto the said Francis Edwards Three full and equall Eighth parts of the said Ship or Vessell and of the Stock Freight and appurtenances to the said Ship or Vessell belonging or in any wise appertaining As by the said Bill of Sale more plainly may appear.

NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSETH That it is hereby declared and Agreed by and betweene the parties to these presents That the said recited Bill of Sale was only made for better Security and more sure payment of the said summe of Seaven Hundred and Fifty pounds and such other Summe and Summes of money as shall become due and payable upon and by vertue of the said recited Obligation pursuant to the Condition thereof

AND THEREFORE the said Francis Edwards for himselfe his Executors and Administrators doth Covenant and Agree to and with the said Thomas Bowrey his Executors Administrators and Assignes by these presents That if the said Thomas Bowrey his Executors Administrators or Assignes doe and shall well and truely pay or cause to be paid unto the said Francis Edwards his Executors Administrators or Assignes the said Summe of Seaven Hundred and Fifty pounds of lawfull money of England and such other summe and summes of like money as shall become due and payable upon and by vertue of the said recited Obligation pursuant

¹ "Burthen of One hundred sixty seaven Tuns." Compare with the 141 tons obtained from the formula, *ante*, p. 85.

to the Condition thereof within such dayes and times and in such manner and forme as in the condition of the said recited Obligation is limited and expressed for payment thereof THEN the said recited Bill of Sale shall be void and of no effect and shall together with the said recited Obligation and that part of these presents which is under the hand and seale of the said Thomas Bowrey (all inevitable Casualties Excepted) be delivered upp to the said Thomas Bowrey his Executors Administrators or Assignes to be Cancelled or made void Hee the said Thomas Bowrey his Executors or Administrators at the same time delivering upp to the said Francis Edwards his Executors Administrators or Assignes the other part of these presents which is under the hand and scale of the said Francis Edwards to be also Cancelled or made void

IN WITNESS whereof the said parties to these present Indentures interchangeably have sett their hands and seales the day and yeare first above Written.

SEALED AND DELIVERED (being duely Stampd) in the presence of
 JNO : TUSHINGHAM¹ FRAN^s EDWARDS (SEAL)
 SOL : RIXON

[Endorsed]

Defeizance² Int[er]

Francis Edwards Esqr. and Capt.
 Tho: Bowrey, 1704.

Paper 4.

["Defeizance" between Nicholas Crisp "Cittizen and Draper of London" and Thomas Bowrey, 29 October 1704.]

This bond is almost identical in wording with Paper 3 above. The amount is £300, of which £150 is payable on the same conditions as the £750 to Francis Edwards. In case of the non-arrival of the vessel in the specified time, £2. 10s. is to be paid for every month or portion of month that she outstays the period stated. One-sixteenth of the ship is mortgaged to Crisp "for better security and more sure payment" of the £150 lent.

The stamps appear to have been cut off the document. It is signed "Nicho: Crisp" and is witnessed by John Tushingam, Bowrey's attorney, and by George Floyd, after whose signature

¹ John Tushingam was Bowrey's attorney.

² The term "Defeasance" or "release from obligation" applies here only to that part of the document which refers to the mortgage of part of the vessel as collateral security.

is added in Bowrey's writing "Servant at the Star Coffee house in Cornhill¹," where the deed seems to have been executed.

Paper 5.

[Extracts from Thomas Bowrey's Private Account Book, fol. 30, 1704-1706, regarding the Payment by the Owners for their Shares in the *Mary Galley*.]

Per Contra Cr.

			£	s	d.
1704					
March 31 th	By Cash recd of Mr Jos Tolson act. 1/6		200	—	—
June 29	By Cash recd of Mr. Thos Hammond act. 1/12		62	10	—
	By Cash recd. of Mr Geo Jackson act 1/12		62	10	—
July 14	By Cash recd of Mr. Elias Grist act 1/24		31	5	—
20	By Cash recd. of Mr. Tho Hammond act. 1/12		62	10	—
	By Cash recd. of Mr. Geo Jackson act. 1/12		62	10	—
27	By Cash recd. of Mr. Richd. Tolson act. 1/24		31	5	—
Sep —	By Cash recd. of Mr. Elias Dupuy act. 1/12		125	—	—
19	By Cash recd. of Mr. Elias Grist act. 1/24		93	15	—
	By Cash recd. of Mr. Geo. Jackson act. 1/12		125	—	—
Oct 3	By Cash recd. of Mr. Richd. Tolson act. 1/24		80	—	—
9	By Cash recd. of Captn. Jos: Tolson act. 1/6		110	—	—
10	By Cash recd. of Mr. Elias Grist, given by Owners to goe Purser		53	15	—
12	By Cash recd of Capt. Tolson by his Act. Disbursements act 1/6		96	—	—
16	By Cash recd. of Ditto £100 returned at Gravesend £4	96	—	—	
	Disbursements	6	—	—	
	left in his hands for Ships Act.	20	—	—	
	Allowance for his Table for the Voyage	30	—	—	
	2 months Imprest for himself and Servant	22	—	—	
	his Bond at Bottomree	50	—	—	
	Mr. Elias Dupuys Noat	50	—	—	274 — —
	By Cash recd. of Mr. Thos: Hammond act 1/12	5	7	6	
14 [sic]	By Cash recd. of Mr. Elias Dupuy als Goods act. 1/12	215	—	—	
Nov. 2	By recd. of Mr. Richd. Tolson act. 1/24 his noat for	50	—	—	
7	By recd. of Mr. Thos: Hammond by two Noats of his hand act. 1/12	85	—	—	
9	By recd. of Mr. Geo: Jackson by three Noats of his hand act. 1/12	90	—	—	
Jan. 20	By recd. of Mr. Thos: Hammond by two Bills for Wine act. 1/12	66	9	—	
1705					
May 3	By Cash recd. of Mr. Richd Tolson act 1/24	8	15	—	

¹ There were four coffee houses called The Star in London at this date. The one here mentioned was situated in Exchange Alley.

		£	s.	d.
1705				
May 31	By Cash recd of Mr. Jno: Rich for Act. Mr. Elias Grist 1/24	45	-	-
Nov. 15	By cash recd. of Mr. Geo: Jackson act. Mens Wages	4	-	-
Dec. 5	By Cash recd of Mr. Elias Dupuy act. Mens Wages	4	-	-
Jany. 7	By Cash recd. of Mr. Tolson for act. Capt. Tolson, act Ditto	8	-	-
1706				
May 15	By recd in Act of Mr. Thos: Hammond, act. Ditto	4	-	-
		2055	11	6
		58	3	6
June 29	By Cash recd. in Act. of Ditto act. 1/12 in full By Cash recd. of Mr. Richd. Tolson act. Mens wages	2	-	-

Correspondence during Construction and Equipment

Six letters written to Thomas Bowrey during the construction and equipment of the *Mary Galley* have been preserved. They are all dated in August and are addressed to him at Tunbridge Wells, at that time a great watering place and one of his favourite resorts. He was then apparently staying there indisposed after the excitement of the launching of the vessel on 22 July 1704. Two of the letters are from Thomas Hammond, one of the owners, written seemingly in his capacity as an adviser of Bowrey under the Articles of Association, and the other four letters are from Joseph Tolson, prospective captain of the vessel.

Thomas Hammond's letters, though interesting in themselves, do not tell us much about the ship, except that there was some apprehension that she might be "stopt," apparently by the East India Company.

Joseph Tolson reported that the builder, Richard Wells, had been very obliging, and in his first and second letters, dated 3rd and 9th August, he gave some foreign news, and in the postscript of the latter there is an allusion to "a Large Letter derected to you [Thomas Bowrey] Which they told me was aboutt the *Woster*," Bowrey's unfortunate vessel, of which mention has already been made. In his last letter

Tolson again mentioned the *Worcester* and reported the death of her purser. The arguments about that ship were then proceeding and naturally there was much excitement among her owners.

Beyond these items there is nothing of special interest in the letters, though they are instructive reading for the period.

Paper 6.

[Letter from Thomas Hammond.]

London, the 3d August 1704.

Capt. Thomas Bowery: Sir, Mr. Starke¹ and I wrote you last night, to which I Refer you². I suppose to Morrow wee shall hear if shee should be stopt. I Cannot believe they³ will meddle with her. If Such Newse should Come I will dispatch my man to you that Wee may have your Company on Saturday. I am Offered 2 letters to Lye Ready if Occasion should be, one to Duke Hamilton⁴ the other to the Attorney General⁵. Pray your advice if shall send them to my friend on Saturdays post.

Last night I Omitted giving you an Account what they would Write upon her [underwrite] from thence [India] to London, because Could gett no price made and it is the same againe to day, the Insurers being downe in the Mouth, or at least out of Policy pretend so to be from an alarme Come this day of 13 saile of ships and St. Hellena being taken by the French. I suppose Capt. Tolsen will give you the Perticulers of it, to whose Letter I Referr you⁶, being in haste

I am Now favoured with yours of Yesterdays date, and observe the Contents, and so soone [as] I have the Cargo [of the *Mary Galley*], will send it to you. Capt. Tolsen told me what you Write to him about Enquiering after £1000 Stock⁷.

¹ Thomas Starke was one of the shareholders in the *Worcester*, and there are frequent mentions of John Starke in the papers.

² This letter does not exist.

³ By "they" Hammond seems to mean the agents of the East India Company.

⁴ James Douglas, Fourth Duke of Hamilton, 1658-1712. He was killed in a duel with Charles, Lord Mohun, the story of which is narrated in Thackeray's *Esmond*.

⁵ Edward Northey, Attorney-General 1701-7.

⁶ See Paper 7 for a fuller account of this unfounded report.

⁷ This seems to imply that Bowrey had written to Tolson asking him to find someone who would invest £1000 in the *Mary Galley's* cargo.

Mr. Peter Albert, who is one of the Concerned in the *Arabella*¹, Came to me upon Exchange and Enquired where you Weere and if Wee had [completed] our Stock [in the *Mary Galley*]. I told him we had. Then, says he, "I should be glad to meete with you and Capt. Bowery to putt in with you £500 Stock I have of this Yeare." I told him when you Came to Towne we would meete him.

You say you doubt I have [re]stricted the Capt. to too small a Some. He Wrote for no Credit, but I thought it Necessary to send him some Credit, not knowing what might happen.

My Service to your selfe and Lady is all at present from Sir,
Your humble Servant, THO: HAMMOND.

[Endorsed] To Capt. Thos. Bowrey att Waggon's Coffe house att Tunbridge Wells, In Kent.

Paper 7.

[Letter from Joseph Tolson.]

August the 3th 1704, 5 Clock affternoon.

Sir, According to your order in your Letter dated the First off August², I ingaged Mr: Johnson³ to go to Mr: Stileman⁴ For that Business mentioned in your Letter, and his answare Was that he did nott Know att whatt price permission⁵ Was att presentt, butt aboutt a month ago hee had 30 gines [guineas] Pr Centt proffered, butt hee did beleave he should nott obtain itt now; butt being going outt off town this Morning, he desired him to meett him att Robins Coffey house⁶ on Wedonsday Next, and hee Would give him his Result [decision] att Whatt price he would dispose off itt. So that, according to your order, you may assure your Self I will use my uttmmost Indivers to Serve you.

Their is this day by a Letter Com to Mr. Loide⁷, as itt appears to bee a Letter that hath bean Inclosed in a Letter to a Frind. It

¹ An East India Company's ship. Peter Albert was one of the subscribers to the Government £2,000,000 (see note 2, p. 142) and was therefore entitled to trade to the East Indies.

² This letter has not survived.

³ Tolson's brother-in-law, and as shown by the papers, an attorney.

⁴ Possibly the "John Styleman" mentioned in the Minutes of a Court of the E. I. Co., held 18 April 1705, with reference to a Bill of Exchange drawn at York Fort, Bencoolen, Sumatra (*Court Book*, xxxix, 337).

⁵ Permission seems to mean Insurance here. There is no such meaning in the *O.E.D.* It cannot mean licence to trade in this sense.

⁶ There were two coffee houses called Robin's at this period, one near Temple Bar and the other in Old Jewry. It is probably the latter that is meant. See *Notes and Queries*, 13 June 1925, p. 426.

⁷ Edward Lloyd of Lloyd's Coffee House.

First saith that he was Master off a small Ship bound from Compoetchy [Campeachy] to England, but that his Ship was very Leaky and a French Frigatt Came up With him and took him off, which he Was glad [of], For otherwise his Ship and hee and all the Rest had perished in her. [He is] now on board the French Ship. The Lewtivetenant Was an Englishman Who infformed him that on the 26 off April Last that Ship with 9 more took St. Hellana, and beffore hee Came from thence, the 16 off May, they had taken these Ships as Followeth, *Viz*: the said [ship] and (1) *Dudly*, (2) *Orenzeb* [*Aurengzebe*], (3) *Robertt and Nathamall*, (4) *Legorn galy*¹, (5) *Gloster*, (6) *Colchister*, (7) *Chamber Frigatt*, (8) the *Cathern*, (9) *Holland Friggatt*¹, (10) *Halffax*, (11) *Samuall and Ann*, (12) *Mary*² and two Ships Names Nott Known.

Hee had the apertunity to Send the Letter by a Dutch Ship that Was affter taken by the Said French Ship, and the Master haveing Ransomed his Ship, he desired him to take this Letter and put itt in the Nearest place in England to London. I hope the accountt is deffective, Firstt by Reason I do beleave that Such a quant[it]y off Ships would Nott be att St. Helana So early; thirdly [*sic*] hee doth nott Mention the Name off his owne Ship; thirdly ther is None that owneth the Sending this Letter Which Came by the peny post to Mr. Loyde and dated From Bantrybay, and Severall other Supisious deffects in itt So that I hope itt will prove butt a trick by the Stock Jobers or the Like³.

¹ For the distinction between "galy" and "Friggatt," see *ante*, pp. 125-6.

² The ships mentioned were all, with the exception of the *Holland Frigate*, East Indiamen. Only four, the *Colchester*, *Gloucester*, *Halifax* and *Samuel and Anna*, were on their way home. The *Nathaniel* (the *Robert* seems to be an error), the *Catherine* and the *Mary* had not then set out, and the remainder were still in India.

³ The following is the story of this hoax, as it appeared in the newspapers of the day:

The Daily Courant, Friday 4 August 1704. "London August 4. Yesterday Morning a letter was sent by the Penny-Post to Mr. Edward Lloyd, Coffee-man in Lombard street, subscrib'd Jo: Browne, dated on board the *Little St. Lewis*, a French Frigatt. That the 3d Lieutenant of this frigatt, an Englishman, told him that 11 Sail of French Ships, 6 of them being Men of War (of which this Frigatt was one), and 5 Privateers came to the Island of St. Helena the 20th of April last and took it, as also 15 English East-India Merchant ships (the Names of 13 of which are mentioned in the Letter). . . .Tis very probable that this Letter is a Forgery, but as we cannot possibly determine whether it be or not, and the story having made a great Noise in Town, we find ourselves oblig'd to give an Account of it."

The next issue of the *Daily Courant* contains a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Lloyd stating that the above was a hoax.

The Postman, Tuesday 8 August to Thursday 10 August 1704. "The

I have ordered the Casks For the Coles to be Ready to Morow morning, a Fleett being Come into the River¹

I have Nott Spook with Mr. Hale as yett². I have Sentt him a Letter, butt have Received No answer so that I have nott paid him as yett.

Both Madem Garners³ desired to be Remembered to you and Madem Bowrey. Wishing you all the pleasure and Sattisffaction you hope For, So with my humble Service and my Wives, I Restt, Sir, Your humble Servantt, JOS: TOLSON.

[Endorsed] This For Capt. Thos: Bowrey att Tun Bridge with Car[e] · Tun Bridge.

Paper 8.

[Letter from Joseph Tolson.]

August the 9th 1704.

Sir, I received yours dated August the 7th, all in which I will, you may assure your Selff, Indeiver to accomplish.

Mr. Weles [Wells] Seemes Very Wiling to obledge you in any thing as I have asked off him as yett, butt I have not Spook to him about the Lineing off the Yards⁴ as yett; but I Spook to Mr. Carby and hee hath promised to have itt done in 2 or 3 days.

My brother[in-law] Johnson Wentt this day to meett Mr. Stileman, according to his apointtmentt, butt he did nott Come, nor has not been there this day, Soe I Suppose he is nott Come outt off the Contry. Mr. Johnson would have gone to his house, butt I thoughtt itt more Convenient to Wait an apertunity to Meett him axidently on purposs then to Show to[o] much Forwardness, So my brother Johnson hath promised me to Waitt to morrow att

Paris Gazette and the letter from France make no mention of any English East India Ships taken, nor of the Island of St. Helena, which is looked upon as a proof of the forgery of the advice of the pretended Brown."

¹ See the entries for 2 and 7 August 1704 in Captain Tolson's Account of Expenses, printed *post*, Paper 17, for details of this transaction.

² I have not identified this individual. He may be the same man as "Mr." and "Squire Hall," mentioned in Tolson's account (Paper 17), under 7 June and 18 September 1704, with reference to dealings in lead.

³ By "Both Madem Garners" Tolson means Frances and Elizabeth Gardiner, Bowley's mother-in-law and sister-in-law.

⁴ "Lineing off [of] the Yards" "Lineing, is marking one length, breadth, or depth, of any thing according to design, by a cord, rubbed with white or red chalk, fastened at the extremities and forcibly pulled up in the middle or towards one end. ." (Steel, *Rigging and Seamanship*, 1794).

Robins Coffee house For him and I will know in the morning Whether he is in town or Not, off which I shall be Impatient to give you account off his answer.

I have nott as yett heard off a Cheaff mate that I beleave may be to your Satisfaction, to which End I will use all diligence that in me Lies.

Mr. Hamon [Hammond] is outt off town, butt is expected to morrow and then I will sertiffie him off Whatt your Letter pasiffis [*sic* ? specifies] Concerning Captain Juniffer¹, and then I intend to gitt him to be bound [as guarantor] For the Letter off Marte², according to your order, iff I can

We have had 4 Males [mails] this affternoon, by which the Malecontent in Hungary have broke off the accomadation. The Camisars are Masters off the Feald Marchall de Talard hath joyned the Baveriens and Prince Eugene is within 2 Leagues off the grand army³. The Dutch East India Fleett is arived att the Texell⁴, butt the printed newes gives no accountt of the *Resolution*⁵.

Your Humble Seivantt, JOS: TOLSON.

I was att Mr. Hamon and See a Large Letter dertected to you Which they told me was aboutt the *Woster*⁶, Which I hope you

¹ Captain James Jenefer, then commander of the *Catherine*, an E I Co's ship. He had returned from China in June 1704

² "Letter off Marte," letters of marque, that is, a commission to the *Mary Galley* to attack any vessel of France or Spain with whom Britain was then at war.

³ This is a correct summary of the news received by Dutch mails of the progress of the War of the Spanish Succession which had begun in 1702. The *Flying Post* of 8 to 10 August 1702 reports: "The Malcontents levy Contributions and burn the Country about Gratz.... The Elector Palatine is going home much displeased that his Mediation has had no better effect"

The *Postman* of the same date confirms the other statements: "Letters from Geneva say, that the Camisars are more numerous than ever. They are Masters of the Field, and 'tis computed have 1000 Horse. Prince Eugene is advanc'd within two Hours of the Grand Army... Count Tallard has joyn'd the Bavarians."

"Camisards" was a name given to the peasants of the Cevennes who, from 1702 onwards, carried on an organised military resistance to attempts at forcible conversion to Romanism, following on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

⁴ The *Postman* of 8 to 10 August reports news from the Hague of 15 August N.S. (5 August O.S.): "16 of our East India Ships are safely arriv'd in our Harbours."

⁵ The *Resolution*, a separate stock ship, of which Bowrey was part owner, had sailed for India in 1702 and was now expected home. She did not arrive until April 1705.

⁶ See *ante*, pp. 113, 144, 148.

have Received. I forgott the Gentlmans name that you spoke to me to Enquire about the *Wosters* Insurance, For which I have been troubled For my Nigligence to Neclectt any apertunity to serve you.

[Endorsed]: For Capt. Bowrey att Tunbridge Wells. With love.

Paper 9.

[Letter from Joseph Tolson.]

August the 11th 1704.

Sir, According to your order, Mr. Johnson hath Waited on Mr. Stileman and his answeare is that he will nott dispose off the Licence¹ off that £1000 under 30 gines [guineas] per Cent att present, and his Reason is that he hath given Comission to a certain Gentleman to dispose off it for him, who hee hath nott Seen Since Mr. Johnson First spook to him. So hee hath ordered Mr. Johnson to meet him on Wednesday Nextt att the East India Coffie house². Betwixt this and then hee shall see the gentleman beffore mentioned and then hee will give him a Forther Result of the Matter.

I have been some whatt Indisposed these 2 dayes, butt I thank god I am Now Very well. Iff nott, I should have had the Letter of marte or [ere] now.

I rest, Your Humble Servant, JOSEPH TOLSON.

Mr. Stark Justt now brought Newes to the Garter [Coffee House] that Seperate Stock was Falen 15 per Centt, the Event off which I shall Inquire and give you Noteis theroff.

[Addressed] For Capt. Bowrey, att Tunbridg: with Care.

¹ By "Licence" and "Permission" (see Paper 7 note 5) Tolson seems to mean insurance policy.

² The East India Coffee House, Leadenhall Street and The Ship and Turtle, now the offices for the Port of Liverpool Authority, seem to have been identical. The East India Coffee House, Leadenhall Street, is given (p. 262) in a List of Coffee Houses "during Queen Anne's Reign" in J. Ashton's second volume of *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*. Leopold Wagner, *London Inns and Taverns*, p. 101, says of The Ship and Turtle. "Long before this [1735], owing to its favourable location opposite the Great East India House, it had earned just renown as a social centre for the Captains and officers of Mercantile Men-of-War in the East India Company's service. On the eve of sailing these always invited a party of friends to... the Ship."

Paper 10.

[Letter from Thomas Hammond.]

London the 16th August 1704.

Captain Thomas Bowery, Sir, I am favoured with yours 14th Instant. For Aunsweare, Mr Starke has secured two Warehouses at Brewers Key¹ and Mr. Dupuy hath One in Mincing lane which we Can have. Mr. White Recomend Mr. Starke to them. It will save Cartidge, &c., which would be Chargeable, and I suppose Wee shall not keep [them] long before wee sell.

I have not yett speke with Mr. Albert about his stock², nor will not till hear further from you.

I saw Captain Tolson at 3 of the Clock and then he had not an Aunswear from his Friend. No Newse from the ship since my last. When I have any you shall not faile hearing from me.

I am sorry you are disapointed of the Enjoyment you went downe to Tunbridge for; hope it will soone blow over³.

Wee launcht the *Betty Gally*⁴ last Monday and are fitting as fast as possible. When I have any Newse from the ship [the *Mary Galley*] you may depend of it the same post.

I am Sir, Your Most humble Servant, THOS. HAMMOND.
[Addressed] To Capt. Thomas Bowrey, att Tunbridge wells
In Kent.

Paper 11.

[Letter from Joseph Tolson.]

August the 17th 1704.

Sir, I omited Writcing Last night by Reason that I expected you In town upon the unwellcome newes of Mr. Turners⁵ death, For which I am heartly Sorey to See the house so much discomposed, and Likewise for your Indisposission Which I understand Rather Increases then decreases.

Mr. Johnson Waited For Mr. Stileman 4 houres, but he did nott Come according to his apointment, so according to your order,

¹ "Brewers Key" is shown in Ogilby and Morgan's Map of London, 1677. It was a quay running north from, and at right angles to, the eastern end of the "New Key," which extended some distance west of "Dyers Hall" to the "Tower Wharfe."

² See *ante*, p. 150, note 1.

³ Hammond may be referring to the worry and loss occasioned by Bowrey by the seizure of the *Worcester*, mentioned above.

⁴ I have found no other mention of this ship among the Bowrey papers, and it does not seem that Bowrey had any interest in her.

⁵ I have failed to trace this individual.

I shall be willing to act with the uttmost diligence that Lieth in me¹.

This day I have gott the Letter off Marte and protection² For my men. Mr. Hamon [Hammond] and Mr. Stark was bound For mee, the Charge off that and the protection and My Charge and all will amountt to 11 pound or thereabouts³.

So I Rest In hopes and wishing to hear off your health and Welfare with my Servis to madem Bowery, Your Humble Servant,
JOSEPH TOLSON.

I writte this att Mr. Hamons who gives his Servis to you and ther is No Forther newes off the *Woster* then that the purser, Mr. Loveday, is dead.

[Addressed] This For Capt. Bowry, att Tunbridge.

Accounts relating to the Construction and Fitting out of the Ship

Such accounts, relating to the construction and fitting out of the ship, as have come down to us, are somewhat scrappy. They contain, however, one valuable paper⁴, showing the cost of the *Mary Galley* and her equipment, evidently drawn up for the benefit of her owners as a body. It is unfortunately undated, but two other papers⁵, extracted from Bowrey's private account book, show that its date must have been about the end of 1705. The total in the second of the above papers does not agree with that in the first and third. Thus the total cost of the ship and cargo in the first paper is stated to be £4080. In the second, which refers us to "Ships book folio 40," now not available, it is stated to be £3982. 18s. 3d., but in the third paper, which is evidently Bowrey's private account, there is an entry: "By my $\frac{1}{2}$ of the *Mary Gally* and Cargo as Cost to Sea with £105. 16s. 9d. remaining in my hands [~~£~~2040," which is, of course, half of £4080, showing whence Bowrey got this item⁶.

¹ Stileman was evidently unwilling to discuss the matter of the £1000 insurance policy on the *Mary Galley* with Johnson.

² Protection against pressment is meant. See *post*, Paper 17, note on entry of 17 August.

³ In Tolson's account of expenses, Paper 17, *post*, details of the cost of obtaining the letters of marque are given. They amount to £9. 13s

⁴ See Paper 12 below.

⁵ See Papers 13 and 14 below.

⁶ If we, however, regard the actual cost as the total shown in Paper 12, less £105. 16s. 9d., the money shown as being in Bowrey's hands in

Paper 12.

[General Cost of the *Mary Galley* and her Cargo.]Cost and Charge of the *Mary Gally* and her Cargo¹.

	£	s	d.
Tradesmens Bills	25	89	19 10
Small things for which no Bills Brought in ²	20	—	—
Pilotage	6	10	—
Mr. Wells for overwork a piece Plate ³	30	—	—
	26	46	09 10

CARGOE

8 Groce Scisars Guilded	36	18	—
1½ Groce Glass Hafted Knives plain Blades	13	15	6
Glassware	188	3	5
Beer in Bottles	26	1	0
Beer in Cask	37	9	0
Wine	24	17	3
Cheese	11	10	—
Iron Guns	28	8	11
Anchors	53	9	10
Lead	248	0	—
Rashes ⁴	25	13	—
Hatts	9	1	6
PS 8/8 ⁵	253	1	5
Glass Hafted Knives Guilded blades	34	—	—
Shauls	9	—	—
Licence &ca. Charges	199	16	4
	1199	05	2
	3845	15	0
5 Guine[a]s per Cent on £3845. 15. 0	206	13	6
	4052	08	6
Money remaining in my hands	27	11	6

Total is £: 4080 00 0⁶

Paper 14, we shall get a total of £3974. 3s. 3d., which approximates £3982. 18s. 3d., the total shown in Paper 13

¹ This document is unfortunately undated. See note 6 below.

² These seem to be the "Petty Charges," extracts from which are given below, Paper 19.

³ This is the piece of plate that is mentioned *ante*, pp. 125, 136, 138, to be given to the builder, Richard Wells, in addition to the contract price of the ship, on completion.

⁴ Rashes, a smooth fabric of silk or worsted, known respectively as silk and cloth rashes.

⁵ That is, "pieces of 8," or dollars.

⁶ This total was evidently used by Bowrey in drawing up his personal account in his private account book on 1 January 1706, as his half share of

Paper 13.

[General Cost of the *Mary Gally* and her Cargo in April 1705:
Extract from Thomas Bowrey's Private Account Book.]

1705	Ship <i>Mary Gally</i> and Cargo	Dr.	£	s.	d.
April 26th	To the Totall Cost and Outsett to this Day as per Ships book folio 40 ¹		3982	18	3 ²

Paper 14.

[State of Thomas Bowrey's Account, 1 January 1706: Extracts
from his Private Account Book 1 January 1705/6.]

Stock	Dr.	Per Contra	Cr.
To Mr. Edwards ³ at Bottomree on the <i>Mary Gally</i> Oct 12th 1704 . . . 500 --		By my $\frac{1}{2}$ of the <i>Mary Gally</i> and Cargo as Cost to Sea with £105. 16s. 9d. re- maining in my hands . . . 2040 ⁴ --	
To Mr. Phineas Bowles ⁵ at Bot- tomree on the <i>Mary Gally</i> July 24th 1705 at 30 per Cent for 12 mo. and pro rato [sic] to 27 mo. . . 75 --		remaining in my hands as stock . . . 105 16 9	
		Received since of Mr. Jackson and Mr. Dupuy . . . 8 --	
		Received of Mr. Jon: Rich ac- count of Mr. Grist . . . 45 --	
		158 16 9	
		Out of which Dis- bursed to this day . . . 95 15 0	
		63 1 9	63 1 9
		My present Interest is . . . 1976 18 3	
		By due from Mr. Thos. Ham- mond ⁶ to his part of the <i>Mary Gally</i> . . . 58 4 6	
		By lent Capt. Tolson ⁷ on the <i>Mary Gally</i> at Bottomree Oct. 1704 . . . 50 --	

the total there shown is £2040 (see Paper 14 above). This last paper shows that the amount above detailed was drawn up on, or shortly previous to, 1 January 1706.

¹ This book is not now available.

² This statement does not agree with Paper 12 or Paper 14. See p. 156.

³ See Paper 3.

⁴ This statement is made out from the total shown in Paper 12 above.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 141.

⁶ See *ante*, p. 140.

⁷ See Paper 5.

[Further Disbursements.]

1706. May 14th To Disbursements to this day as per folio £ s. d.
 42 Ships book 116 15 6

Among the accounts that have been preserved are a number of bills which relate to other ships in which Bowrey was concerned besides the *Mary Galley*. These bills include charges for the latter's outfit, stores and cargo, and the greater part of them are endorsed on the back in Bowrey's hand, noting the amounts paid. In several cases deductions from the original charges are made, apparently by way of discount. I have not printed the bills in full, but have merely noted the names of the persons who presented them, the reasons for the charges and the amount paid in each case.

Paper 15.[Bills relating to the *Mary Galley* and her Stores.]

	Amount Charged			Amount paid		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Martin James for old cordage . . .	3	19	6	3	19	0
John Evans for ditto . . .	40	16	0	39	9	0
John Langerwood, ropemaker . . .	192	8	3	188	16	3
Richard Burchett & Co., shipwright . . .	5	1	1½	5	—	—
William How for timber . . .	4	5	4½	4	—	—
Nathaniel Canning, blockmaker . . .	19	14	2	19	11	—
Martha Seaman, boatbuilder, for a long- boat	22	—	9	20	11	—
James Taylor, ship chandler . . .	15	8	0	15	8	0
William Simson, Smith . . .	20	9	5	20	9	5
Joseph Wise, oilman . . .	21	5	4	20	2	6
Joseph Wise, oilman . . .	59	7	9½	28	10	0
Chas. Dymond, gunsmith . . .	39	12	1	39	—	—
Cuper, oarmaker . . .	24	2	4	20	2	10
Anthony Tournay for Iron hoops . . .	54	4	7	51	10	0
Jone [<i>sic</i>] Freeman, lighterman, for ship- ping stores	5	13	6	5	1	0
John Viner, distiller, Brandy . . .	7	16	10	7	16	—
John Kent for stockfish ¹ . . .	10	2	6	10	2	—

¹ Compare the description of stockfish by Jacob Ziegler (*First Three English Books on America*, [? 1511]–1555, tr. R. Eden, ed. E. Arber, p. 303): "From hence [Norway] is brought into all Europe a fysshe of the kinds of them which we caule haddockes or hakes, indurated and dryed, with coulede, and beaten with clubs or stocks, by reason whereof the Germayns caule them stockefysshe."

CARGO.

	Amount Charged			Amount paid		
	£	s	d.	£	s.	d
William Dodd and Edmund Hopegood for Spanish rashes and package . . .	25	13	0	25	13	0
Samuel Leadbeater, for small lead . . .	248	3	6	248	0	0
Matthew Weston, for glass ware . . .	13	4	—	13	4	—
Ditto for engraving and gilding glassware	12	16	9	12	16	9
	34	7	6	34	7	6
	20	9	3	20	9	3
Matthew Woodman for cutlery . . .	22	13	0	22	13	0
Richard Blackburne, in New Street, near Shoe Lane, near the White Swan Ale- house ¹ , cutler and gilder . . .	16	16	0	16	4	0
	5	8	0	5	8	0
Mr. Smith, Cheesmonger . . .	37	13	6½	37	8	6
Ditto . . .	11	10	—	11	10	—
Thomas Hammond ² for wine . . .	41	11	9	41	11	9
Ditto . . .	24	17	3	24	17	3
Thomas Lansdown for beer . . .	26	1	0	26	1	0
James Perkins, hatter . . .	9	1	6	9	1	6
Customs duties paid on Iron ordnance, “toys,” glassware, etc. . .	64	6	5	64	6	5

PILOTAGE.

William Charlton ³ for pilotage of the <i>Mary Galley</i> to Gravesend . . .	2	0	0	2	0	0
John Cull, Pilot, for pilotage of ditto from Gravesend to the Downs ⁴ . . .	4	10	0	4	10	0

There is, besides these accounts for stores, a bill for the legal charges incurred, which is interesting, as the original documents giving rise to them are nearly all still forthcoming. They show that the legal procedure for the owning of the *Mary Galley* was that Richard Wells, the builder, sold her to Bowrey, and then Bowrey sold part of her to the other owners.

¹ This inn is mentioned as late as 1756 in Simpson's *Old City Taverns and Masonry*. See *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. VII, 186.

² Thomas Hammond, a shareholder in the *Mary Galley* and in the *Worcester*, was a wine merchant. Several of his bills for wine supplied to Bowrey for his various ships and for his personal use have survived.

³ William Charlton had charge of Bowrey's yacht, the *Duck* (see Appendix II), and was apparently a pilot and ship's chandler.

⁴ For Tolson's testimony to the efficiency of Cull, see Chapter II, Paper 42.

Paper 16.

[Legal Charges for the *Mary Galley* paid to John Tushingham, Scrivener, by Thomas Bowrey.]

		£	s.	d.
July 1704	Agreement very large intr. [between] Tolson ¹ and you do. [ditto] and engrossed	2	5	-
	Obligation for said Tolson &c to perform Covenants		3	-
	Agreement do. and engrossing intr. you and Grist ²	12	-	
	Another Agreement intr. you and said Tolson do. and engrossed		5	-
Sept. 1704	Grand bill of Sale of the <i>Mary Gally</i> from Wells to you		6	-
	Assignment from Joseph Tolson of part of his Commission and Coppy		6	-
Oct. 1704	Premium £500 on Bott[omree] on the <i>Mary Gally</i> of Edwards ³	10	15	0
Nov. 1704	Sale from you to Hammond of part of the <i>Mary Gally</i> ⁴		3	6
	Sale from you to Dupuy of part of said Ship		3	6
				<hr/>
			14	19 0

There are also two documents of accounts, from one of which I have largely extracted items, and the other I have printed in full. They are Tolson's account of expenses during the building and equipment of the ship and a bill of Ambrose Crowley, an ironmonger, for general stores. For explanations of the nautical terms used in commenting on these accounts, see the notes attached to the Papers themselves. Tolson's account shows that from 25 May until 22 July, when the ship was launched, he closely watched the building operations. Then afterwards, until 6 October, when the *Mary Galley* was ready for sea, he was on board practically every day. In fact, his watch over the workmen was so constant that there could hardly have been anything about the ship that he did not know.

¹ As captain of the ship.

² As purser of the ship.

³ This refers to the "Deфеизance" bond between Bowrey and Edwards. See Paper 3.

⁴ In reference to their various shares in the ship.

A large part of the account is taken up with "watridge," or boat-hire to and from the ship, but the entries generally give us the whole progress of the construction. On 25 May Tolson went to get anchors and guns. On 1 June he proceeded to "Ship the Carpenter." On the 7th and 16th he saw about the lead, and on the 8th he shipped the "Boattswaine."

He was then ready to watch the construction of the ship day by day, for early in July the carpenter had indeed got to work, since on the 1st and 3rd of the month Tolson hired labourers to "gett the Chips outt" of the ship. On the 4th he watered her and "gave to the Calkers to drink for there Care." He also procured "15 Tun of Ballist." On the 8th and 12th he fetched the lead he had secured on 7 and 16 June to the "Dock," and then he gave himself up for the next "6 Days wantting a quarter" to watching 5 "naileboys." Meanwhile, he had employed two men for two days to lay on the "Chenam" or shell-lime plaster. On 14 July he got the "Ballistt into the Ship." The next day he nailed the "Keell," and on the 17th the "Sheathing on the ruther" (rudder) also, on which day he fetched the pumps.

The building of the ship was now advancing well and the launching day was at hand. On the 18th Tolson spoke with Mr Long, one of the E.I.Co.'s "Sirvayers," who on the 21st surveyed the "mainmastt." On the latter day Tolson brought on board "the warp, Junk and other ropes."

All was now ready for the launching of the vessel, a month later than the time stated in the agreement with the builder (see Paper 1), but Tolson is disappointingly reticent about the ceremony, which took place on 22 July (see Paper 22). He only notes the sums paid for the "Carpinters" and "riggors to Drink," to those "thatt nailed the Stem and Starnpostt Lead" and "Cleared the Ship of her Chips and sweppt her," and to those who helped to "tow the Ship into the Dock," and to bring the "Harth," or fireplace, down.

From 22 July onwards, the fitting of the vessel occupied Tolson's attention. On the 24th he took "the Gunns into the boatt" to place on board the ship, and paid "Laberours to gett in the Gunns." On the 25th he pumped the "Ship

twice," and paid "the Scrapers," giving the "officers Dinner and Drink," a performance he repeated several times. On that day, too, he had an accident, for he paid "a man thatt Slung a gun under water thatt broak the fidd."

On 26 July he saw to the "Carrying Down of 2 quiles [coils] of Cordidge," and on the 27th he paid "the tinn man for the funnill," and did a good deal of other work, for he paid for "Watridge to Carry Down the yards and bring us up and watring," and dealt with the "Brass Sheaves," paying for their "portridge" to the founders, whence he brought them to the "armittage," or Hermitage.

On 28 July he towed down the main mast and gave "the riggers to Drink." He also pumped the ship, besides tarring the "yards, pumps and grateings." On the 31st he carried down "Some Blocks, $\frac{1}{2}$ Barrill of tarr And Rozum [rosin], and tallow to pay the mainmastt," and on that day he went to London. On 1 August he carried the "Sprittsaile yard on board and [set it] up," and paid "2 boys thatt [had] pumped the Ship a week." On the 2nd he got "2 Long brushes" and tarred the "Blocks and heads of the mastts," and obtained also "5 pound of Tallow for the riggers." On the 5th he procured "a Buckitt, Iron bound, and Swifill," and "2 Chaldron of Coalls." On the 7th he paid 6*d.* to a "Laberour to take up 1000 billitt wood," and 2*s.* on the 8th, to two men to "gett the topmasts up." On the 9th and 10th he was "Indisposed, nott on board." On the 11th he received a bill from Mr Griffin for "watridge to Look after the Ship and aboutt the Ships business att Severall times," and on the 12th "Gave to Mr. Farr to Drink to make the moulds for the stantiantts" (or stanchions).

For the next six weeks the account runs on in the same lines, though to somewhat different purport. From 14 to 17 August Tolson was engaged in obtaining letters of marque (see above, Papers 8, 9, 11), and he "gave to the Doorkeeper to further my being Swoarn and otherwise," which shows that the bestowal of perquisites to menials was necessary in his day. He also procured a "Stamp of the warrantt for the Letter of Mark," and paid the "Clarke to Dispatch,"

and further spent 3s. 6d. "upon my bonds men att the tavern," and some money "Att the Judges." For the "greatt Seale" he paid 16s. and for the "Protection Bill¹," priced at £8, £7. 15s. 6d.

On 22 August, by Bowrey's order, Tolson paid a ship's commander and his mate for information concerning the "Conveniency of a harbour on Fyall." This was in view of the intended voyage, in case the ship should touch at the Azores. On 23 August Tolson paid "To remove the Ship Clear of the *Hampshire*" and to eight men to help to "mour" her, and next day, the 24th, he carried down the "Stantiantts and other things from Mr. Crauleys," the Ambrose Crowley, whose bill follows (Paper 18). On the 26th he got the "Deells on board" and on the 30th and 31st he shipped the "Car-pinter" and two men.

On 4 September Tolson went to "Eariff [Erith] twice," and on the 6th he had "Expencess to Enquire for a Cheife mate, one Mr. Alexander." On the 11th he paid for a "Dinner and Drink" for the mate and five men who helped to "gett the Hauser and Anckor outt of the Water," at the same time paying "10 Days work of the Calkers."

About this period Tolson began to equip the ship. He bought "1 pound of Candles" and "2 tappes" on 12 September, and "Gave the rope makers to Drink to Dispatch the Cables." He also got the "Anckors down to the Warfe" and paid a man to "help outt of the Dock and to mour Ship." Finally, he spent upon William Charlton and "his man," who had piloted the vessel down to Gravesend, 1s. 6d. On the 13th he gave the "Butchers to Drink" and on the 14th he gave 6d. to the "porter that keeps Mr. Wells old Iron house for taking Care of the Lead and other things." On the 15th he spent 6d. "att a house where I shiped 2 men," and paid Wm. Amos "for Looking after the Ship 7 weeks." He also secured "24 barrills of lamblack," and paid for "Portridge to Carry Down nailes and Blacking." On the 16th he paid "Watridge to bring me and the officers up to Saltt the meatt, Wm. Phillops being gone to the Lead mills att Depttford

¹ See note 2, p. 171.

by my order," and he "Gave the Salters to Drink." On the 18th he got in the "Bear," cleared the hold and shipped some men.

On the 20th he paid men "thatt tended to Shore the Ship," and spent money "upon the Pilott, officers and men in the morning," and "att the house where we had our vittles dressed." On the 21st he shipped more men and on the 22nd he paid the "Boattswaine 20s. which I advanced to his 10s. per month." On the 25th he paid 4s. 6d. to the "Calker att Mr. Wells for a Days work on the quarter Deck," and next day he paid "Mr. Farr for getting the Chips out of the rooms." On the 27th he carried "2 Casks of fine bread on board," paying the "Workmen bakers to Dispatch the Lighter." And then he took a little necessary relaxation, for he spent 3d. upon three men who came to him for orders at his own house and he also had "Expence aboutt the Carpinter who rested," or relieved, him while he was away from the ship.

On 2 October Tolson paid the carpenter's "Wages, 19 days, 4s. per day, £3. 16. 0" and "the attorneys bill and the officers feas." He also gave the "butchers and Salters to drink when wee salted." Further, he gave 15s. "to a man that I Cleared that I had above my Compliment 10 days." On the 4th he paid "Watridge to Cary down the Sailmaker." On the same day he entered "Expence Wateing att Skinners hall to make Entry," and on the 5th, "given the Secritaryes to dispatch." These two items relate to his visit to the Skinners' Hall on 3 October to obtain a "Lycence to trade to the East Indies" (see Paper 25 below). After the last entry are two more items that must have been overlooked, relating to lime juice and rum.

Thus ends this valuable account of petty expenses during about four and a half months of strenuous work, showing Captain Joseph Tolson to have been a man who could stick to his business like a leech. The total amount was £95. 19s. 4½d., while the result of his labours was that the *Mary Galley* set out a good ship and acquitted herself well at sea.

Paper 17.

[Extracts from Captain Joseph Tolson's Account of Expenses incurred for the *Mary Galley* 25 May to 6 October 1704¹.]

Disburstt by Joseph Tolson on the account of the *Mary Galley*.

1704		£	s.	d.
25 May	To remove 3 anckors and 4 guns, Watridge ²	2	6	
1 June	Watridge from Wolwidge [Woolwich] when I went to Ship the Carpenter and spentt att the Same time.	1	0	
7	To Expence to goe to Mr. Hall aboutt the Lead		9	
8	Watridge and Expences to go to Blackwall to Ship the Boattswaine	1	6	
16	To go to the Lead Mills, Watridge, and Spentt	1	4	
1 July	To Laberours to gett the Chips outt and Spentt	6	6	
3	To 2 Laberours to gett the restt of the Chips outt	3	6	
4	To Water the Ship, to a Watermans work and tending	4	0	
	To a Laberour to heave up the water	1	6	
	To 2 men to help up with the pump		6	
	Gave to the Calkers to drink for there Care	1	6	
	To 15 Tun of Ballist	15	0	
6	To heave up the water againe.	1	6	
7	Watridge to Wolwidge and Expence to Clear the Carpenter.	2	6	
8	To fetch the Lead from the mill to the Dock	2	6	
	Gave to the man thatt took itt in Charge		6	

¹ The majority of the notes on this and the following Paper have been supplied by Mr Laird Clowes, who has also kindly revised both the Papers.

² There are 61 charges in the account for "watridge," or hire of watermen whose boats plied on the Thames, amounting to about £37. 9s, most of which I have not printed. The charges varied from 3d to 2s. 6d.

There are also 49 charges for "expences" or "watridge and expences," amounting to about £3. 15s. 6d., which I have not printed. These charges also varied from 3d. to 2s. 6d.

Further, there are five charges "to officers for Drink and Dinner," varying from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 9d., amounting to 11s., of which I have only printed one.

	1704		£	s.	d.
11		Gave to them thatt Looked after the Nailors for Dinner 2s. and for 2 potts for oyle		2	6
12		Watridge from Depttford			6
		Gave to them thatt Looked after the naileboys for Dinner	1		6
		Watridge to fetch the Lead	2		6
		Gave to the naileboys to Drink			6
13 July		To 2 men to Lay on the Chenam ¹ , 2 Days	10		0
14		To the Carvers to Drink			6
		To heave the Ballast outt of the Lighttter	1		6
		To the Lighttter men to Drink			6
		To gett the Ballistt into the Ship	6		0
		For a Rule ² from the Ballistt office			9
15		To 5 naileboys for 6 Days wantting a quarter att 14d. per Day	1	13	9
		To 2 boys to naile the Keell ³	4		0
17		To 2 Laberours to gett the pumps up			6
		To one naileboy to naile the Sheathing ⁴ on the ruther [rudder]			6

¹ "Chenam," chunam, prepared lime, shell-lime, shell-lime plaster.

² By "Rule" an order or permit is meant

³ "Naile the Keell" means to protect the keel by means of a number of large nails driven in close together See Paper 18, entry of 22 September.

⁴ "Sheathing, a sort of casing or covering laid on the outside of a ship's bottom, to protect the planks from the pernicious effects of the worms: particularly in hot climates, as between the tropics. Sheathing either consists of a number of boards or deals of fir, or of sheets of lead or copper; which last is a very late invention, having only been experienced in a few of his Majesty's frigates: it seems however to answer the purpose much better than the fir-planks..." (Falconer, *Universal Dict. of the Marine*, 1769).

The practice of sheathing ships with lead was introduced into England in 1670, when a start was made with the *Phoenix*, 5th rate. Other larger ships were similarly sheathed in succeeding years and the practice continued until 1761 when copper sheathing was introduced in the place of lead. (See *Tracts relating to Army & Navy* 1600-1724, *Mariner's Mirror*, II, 149.)

Before she sailed from England, the *Mary Galley* had her stem, stern-post and rudder and the lower six feet of her bottom sheathed with sheet lead, nailed on with lead nails (see Paper 18, entry of 12 July), while her keel, from which lead sheathing would have been torn whenever the vessel took the ground, was protected against the ravages of worm by numerous large-headed cast-iron "Filling nails" (see Paper 18, entry of 29 September) placed very close together. The disastrous results which arose from omitting to carry this lead sheathing a further four feet or so upwards to the water-line, and the way in which the sheathing of the underwater body had to be completed with teak planks are described in Paper 60.

		£	s	d
1704				
18	To Speak with Mr Long the Companys Survayers ¹ , Spentt and Watridge . . .	1	6	
19	Spentt To tend the Companys orders . . .		6	
21	Watridge and Spentt upon Mr. Long to Sirvey the mainmast	2	3	
	Watridge to Carry Down the warp, Junk ² and other ropes	2	0	
	To 2 Laberours to gett itt into the Ship . . .	1	0	
22	Gave the Carpinters to Drink	1	1	6
	Gave the riggors to Drink	5	0	
	To them thatt nailed the Stem and Starnpostt Lead	2	6	
	To them thatt Cleared the Ship of her Chips and sweppt her	4	0	
	To bring the Harth down ³	2	0	
	To owers ⁴ to tend me and tow the Ship into the Dock ⁵	4	0	
24	To take the Gunns into the boatt		6	
	To 3 Laberours to gett the gunns on Shore Spentt upon the officers who helped att the Gunns	4	6	
	To 2 Laberours to gett in the Gunns	1	9	
	To 2 Laberours to gett in the Gunns	3	6	
25	To Pump Ship twice	1	6	
	To the Scrapers	6	0	
	To the officers Dinner and Drink	2	9	
	Gave to the Workmen to Dispatch the mainmast	1	6	
	To a man thatt Slung a gun under water thatt broak the fidd ⁶	3	0	
26	To the Carrying Down of 2 quiles [coils] of Cordidge	1	2	

¹ John Long, one of the Surveyors of Shipping under the Old East India Company, was appointed by the Court of Managers of the United Company, on 30 June 1703, to be Surveyor of Shipping with Mr Nicholas, at a salary of £120 per annum (see *Corres. Memoranda*, vol. 1).

² "Warp, a small rope employed occasionally to remove a ship from one place to another, in a port, road, or river" (Falconer, 1769).

"Junk, a name given to any remnants or pieces of old cable which is usually cut in small portions for the purpose of making points, mats, gaskets, sennit, etc" (Falconer, 1769).

³ "Hearth," the ship's fireplace, coppers and galley generally

⁴ "To owers" means "To oars," *i.e.* to watermen. Pepys frequently "took oars" for a journey on the Thames.

⁵ The expenses on 22 July all relate to the "Lanching day." The "Watridge" on that occasion amounted to 8s

⁶ "Fidd," fid, "a large piece of hard wood, tapering to a point, and used for splicing of cables or large cordage" (Falconer, 1769).

		£	s.	d.
1704				
27	To the tinn man for the funnill ¹		10	0
	To Watridge to Carry Down the yards and bring us up and watring		2	0
	To portridge to Carry the brass Sheaves ² to the founders			6
	To bring the Brass Sheaves to the armittage ³			6
	Gave to the Working Founders to Drink to Dispatch the Sheaves			6
	To the Calkers Servants for pumping			6
28	Watridge to tow Down the mainmastt		2	0
	Pumping			9
	To tarr the yards, pumps and grateings		3	0
	To the riggors to Drink		1	0
31	Watridge to Carry Down Some Blocks, $\frac{1}{2}$ Barrill of tarr And Rozum [rosin], and tallow to pay ⁴ the mainmastt		1	6
	Watridge up to London			3
1 August	Watridge to Carry the Sprittsaile yard ⁵ on board and up		1	6

¹ The "funnill" is the chimney for the galley-fire, the "Harth" for which, mentioned above, was at the forward end of the steerage, on the starboard side. In bigger vessels the galley was under the forecassle, just abaft the fore mast

² "Sheave, a solid cylindrical wheel, fixed in a channel, and moveable about an axis, as being used to raise or increase the mechanical powers applied to any body. The sheaves are either fixed in blocks, or in channels cut through the masts, caps, cat-heads, or sides of a ship" (Falconer, 1769).

³ "Armittage," old form of Hermitage. The place mentioned is probably identical with the present Hermitage Basin, London Docks, in the neighbourhood of which is Hermitage Bridge and Great Hermitage Street connecting the Hermitage and Wapping Basins. See Bacon's *Atlas of London and Suburbs*, Sheet 9, N 15.

⁴ "To pay, as a naval term, implies to daub or anoint the surface of any body, in order to preserve it from the injuries of the water, weather, etc. Thus the bottom of a ship is paid with a composition of tallow, sulphur, resin, etc. . . . The sides of a ship are usually paid with tar, turpentine, or resin; or by a composition of tar and oil, to which is sometimes added red oker, etc. to protect the planks thereof from being split by the sun or wind. The lower masts are, for the same reasons, paid with materials of the same sort, if we except those, along which their respective sails are frequently hoisted and lowered; such are the masts of sloops and schooners, which are always paid with tallow for this purpose: for the same reason all topmasts and top-gallant-masts are also paid with hog's lard, butter or tallow" (Falconer, 1769).

⁵ The "Sprittsaile yard," which carried a square spritsail, was spread below the bowsprit. Until the general introduction into square-rigged vessels of the jib, mentioned as an occasional sail by Sutherland in 1711,

		£	s.	d.
1704	Gave the workmen to Dispatch the Said yard			6
	Spentt att Mr Days upon the officers	1	0	
	To 2 boys thatt pumped the Ship a week	2	6	
	2 men to pay the mastts and Some Blocks and Some yards	10	0	
2d.	To Watridge and Expencess aboutt the Ships business	1	9	
	For 2 Long brushes	1	6	
	For taring [tarring] the Blocks and heads of the mastts	6	0	
	For 5 pound of Tallow for the 11ggors	1	8	
5th	To a Buckitt Iron bound and Swifill [swivel] ¹	2	6	
	For 2 Chaldron of Coalls	3	2	0
7th	To a Laberour to gett in the Coalls	2	6	
	To the officers Dinner and Charges to gett the Coalls on board	5	0	
	To a Laberour to take up 1000 billitt wood	1	0	
8th	To 2 men to gett the topmasts ² up	2	0	
9th & 10th	Indisposed, nott on board			
11th	To a Laberour to help Wm. [Phillops] to fill 5 tuns of water	2	6	
	For brooms		9	
	Mr. Griffins ³ bill for watridge to Look after the Ship and aboutt the Ships business att Severall times	5	8	
12th	Gave to Mr. Farr to Drink to make the moulds for the stantiantts ⁴		6	
14th	Aboutt the Letter of mark ⁵ : gave to the Doorkeeper to further my being Swoarn and otherwise	2	6	
	Expencess for watridge for me and Mr. Gristte ⁶	2	6	

the square spitsail, with the addition of a square spitsail topsail in the larger ships, formed the only head-sail.

¹ Possibly a swivel on the handle of an iron-bound bucket is meant.

² This shows that the topmasts were separate spars and were not combined with the lower masts to form pole masts.

³ Probably Richard Griffin, afterwards chief mate.

⁴ "Moulds for the stantiantts" must mean the moulds in which iron stanchions are to be made (see entry of 24 August). "Stanchion, a sort of small pillar of wood or iron used for various purposes in a ship; as to support the decks, the quarter-rails, the nettings, the awnings, etc." (Falconer, 1769).

⁵ See Paper 11.

⁶ Elias Grist, puser

		£	s.	d
1704				
15th	For the Stamp of the warrantt for the Letter of Mark	5	0	
	Gave to the Claik to Dispatch	5	0	
17th August	Spentt upon my bonds men ¹ att the tavern	3	6	
	Att the Judges	2	6	
	For the greatt Scale	16	0	
	To the Protection Bill ² , 8 li. I paid	7	15	6
	To my own Expences aboutt the Letter of Mark	2	6	
22	Spent upon a Commander and his mate to Learn the Conveniency of a harbour on Fyall ³ by order of Capttain Bowry	1	6	
23	To remove the Ship Clear of the <i>Hampshire</i> and to 8 men of Capttain Thomasses to help to mour her ⁴	8	0	
24	Watridge and Expences to Carry Down the Stantiantts and other things from Mr. Crauleys ⁵	1	10	
26	For 2 Days the boy that hath 6s. per Week To the 5 Laberours thatt gott outt the 26 tun [of ballast] att 9d. per tun	19	6	
	To Laberours for to help to gett the guns upon Deck	5	0	
	Gave them to Drink	1	0	
	To gett the Deells on board ⁶		6	
	For 5 baskitts and 2 Shuffills [shovels]	4	0	
28th	Gave to the Coopers men to Drink		6	
30th	Spentt to Ship the Carpenter and Expences for Watridge	2	6	
31stt	Spentt upon 2 men to Ship them	1	0	
3d Septr.	For one weeks pay to the Boy	6	0	
4th	Watridge and Expences to go to Eariff [Erith] twice	5	0	

¹ Thomas Hammond and Mr Starke (John or Thomas) were securities for Tolson. See Paper 11.

² See *ante*, p. 156. By "Protection Bill" Tolson means a certificate from the Admiralty protecting his men from being impressed for the service of Queen Anne. For similar requests for protection for the crews of the East India Company's ships at this period see *Miscellanies* (I.O. MS. Records), vol. 1, pp. 15, 46, 68.

³ Fayal, the westernmost of the Azores Islands.

⁴ The *Hampshire*, Captain Zachary Tovey, an East India Company's ship, was preparing for her voyage to India. I have failed to identify Captain "Thomass," unless Tolson has written "Thomass" for "Tovey."

⁵ Ambrose Crowley, ironmonger, whose bill follows.

⁶ "Deells" means deal boards or planking.

		£	s.	d.
1704				
6th	Expencess to Enquire for a Cheife mate, one Mr. Alexander ¹	1	10	
7th	Watridge and Expencess to Speak with Mr. Sanders ¹ to go Cheif mate	1	6	
11th	Watridge to gett the hauser on board . .	1	6	
	For a Dinner and Drink for the mate and 5 men who helped to gett the Hauser and Anckor outt of the Water	3	0	
	For 10 Days work of the Calkers	2	5	
12th	For 1 pound of Candles		6	
	For 2 tappes		1	
	Gave the rope makers to Drink to Dis- patch the Cables	1	0	
	To gett the Anckors down to the Warfe .	6	0	
	To 1 man to help outt of the Dock and to mour Ship	1	6	
	To a waterman to help and tend with his boat	2	0	
	Spentt upon Mr. Charlton and his man ²	1	6	
13th	Spentt upon the officers and to the Butchers to Drink	2	0	
	Spentt upon 2 men to Ship them	1	6	
14	Gave the porter that keeps Mr. Wells old Iron house for taking Care of the Lead and other things		6	
15th	Spentt att a house where I shiped 2 men		6	
	Portridge to Carry Down nailes and Blacking		6	
	for 24 barrills of lam[p]black	5	0	
	Paid to Wm. Amos for Looking after the Ship 7 Weeks	2	9	0
16	Watridge to bring me and the officers up to Saltt the meatt, Wm. Phillops ³ being gone to the Lead mills att Depttford by my order	1	0	
	Gave the Salters to Drink		6	
18	For Watridge Down and to fetch men to Clear the hold	1	3	

¹ Neither of these men was engaged, and Richard Griffin eventually became chief mate, his wages starting from 14 October 1704.

² On 29 January 1704/5, Bowrey paid Wm. Charlton "For Pilotage of the *Mary Galley* to Gravesend," £2.

³ The name of William "Phillops" is not included in the list of the crew of the *Mary Galley*. He was probably employed only while the ship was in dock. He seems to be the same individual mentioned on 11 August above.

1704		£	s.	d.
	Spentt upon men to Ship them		1	6
	To Squire Hall's ¹ Bill for the Lead.	31	00	10
18 Sept.	To 2 men to help to gett in the Bear [beer] and to Clear the Hold		6	0
19th	Money Spentt upon men to ship them		1	6
	Money Spentt upon my men att night		5	0
20th	Gave the men thatt tended to Shore ² the Ship to Drink.		5	0
	Spentt upon the Pilott, officers and men in the morning		4	6
	Spentt att the house where we had our vittles dressed.		2	6
	For 2 Sailors and laberours to take in the Bear the 18th day	13		6
21st	Spentt upon men to Ship them		1	6
22d	Paid the Boattswaine 20s. which I advanced to his 10s. per month	1	0	0
25th	To the Clark att the 6d. penny ³		1	0
	Paid the Calker att Mr. Wells for a Days work on the quarter Deck ⁴		4	6
26th	Paid the Calkers Bill att Mr. Burchitts ⁵	2	7	6
	Paid Mr. Farr for getting the Chips out of the rooms	1	5	0
27th	To Watridge to Carry 2 Casks of fine bread on board			6
	Gave to the Workmen bakeis to Dispatch the Lighter			6
	Spentt upon 3 men thatt Came to my house to know whether they should proceed or nott			3
	Expence aboutt the Carpenter who rested [relieved] me		1	6
2 Octr.	To the Carpenters Wages, 19 days, 4s. per day	3	16	0
	to the attorneys bill and the officers fea	1	2	6
	Spentt upon the officers that Rested mee		1	0

¹ See *ante*, p. 166 (7 June). "Squire Hall" may be identical with "Urban Hall Esquire," a member of the Court of Committees of the E.I. Co. for several years.

² To "Shore" the ship was to support her so that she might not list, when she took the ground at low water. Falconer (*op. cit.*) defines "shore" as "a prop or large stanchion fixed under a ship's sides or bottom to support her when laid aground or on the stocks, etc."

³ By "Clark att the 6d. penny," Tolson seems to mean "Six Clark," *i.e.* one of the six official clerks formerly connected with the Court of Chancery.

⁴ The quarter-deck covered the great cabin and the steerage.

⁵ Richard Burchett, shipwright. See Paper 15.

1704		£	s	d.
	given the butchers and Salters to drink when wee salted	1	6	
	Watridge hired by Mr. Griffin about the Ships business	3	0	
	4 platts ¹ , weighing 1 C Weight [cwt.]	9	0	
	to a man that I Cleared that I had above my Compliment 10 days.	15	0	
3	to 3 pound off Candles for the Ships Use beffore We had	1	6	
	to Mr. Burchatts bill ²	5	5	0
4	Spent and given to the Salters att Mr. Johnsons			9
	Watridge to Cary down the Sailmaker	1	0	
	Expençe Wateing att Skinners hall to make Entry ³	1	6	
5	given the Secritaryes to dispatch	1	12	3
6	Lent to Capt. Bowry ⁴			6
[Total]		93	3	0
	For 6 gallons off Lime Juce and 3 Quarts [at] 4s. 6d per gallon	1	10	4½
	For 3 gallons and 1 pinte off Rum and Runlett [cask].	1	6	0
		2	16	4½
		93	3	0
[Total]		95	19	4½

[Endorsed]: Particulars of Captain Tolsons Disbursments.

The second of the two documents of accounts, which, as above stated, is printed in full, is Ambrose Crowley's bill for general stores. The tradesman in question was an ironmonger, a ship's chandler, a purveyor to the East India Company, and a man of substance. He was knighted 1 January

¹ "Platt, a sort of braided cordage, formed of several strands of old rope-yarn, twisted into foxes. It is used to wind about that part of the cable which lies in the hause-hole, or against the fore-part of the ship, where it would otherwise be greatly injured by the continual friction. . . ." (Falconer, 1769).

² The amount entered in Paper 15 as paid is £5. os od

³ Skinners' Hall was the headquarters of the New or English E.I. Co., where a declaration of the cargo of ships bound to India had to be made.

⁴ The account ends on 6 October. The total includes the items for "Watridge" etc, omitted, as stated in note 2 on p 166

1706/7, being then a Sheriff of London. The account commences on 23 June 1704, when the carpenters had well progressed with their work on the *Mary Galley*, and runs on through July, August and September, for ironmongers' goods. Then there are accounts without dates of the supply of stores for the ship, provided in casks. These stores are for the boatswain, the cook, the cooper and the carpenter. And then there are stores in three bundles, winding up with a number of things supplied "Loose." Finally, a few things were supplied separately between 7 and 12 October, when the *Mary Galley* was about to leave Gravesend. The bill was promptly paid on 16 October and a receipt taken in full with a slight discount.

Paper 18.

Capt. Thomas Bowrey Dr. To Ambrose Crowley [Ironmonger].

1704			£	s	d	£	s	d.
June 23	1	Iron pott qt [containing]						
	52 lb	. . . . . at 3 ¹	0	13	0			
	1	Ladle at 2	0	2	0	0	15	0
July 12	84 lb.	Lead Nails ² at 42	1	11	6			
	2	Rimd pulbacks ³ with staples						
		. . . . . at 2.2	0	4	4			
	1	Large sea Chest	0	1	0			
	4	Locker Locks at 8	0	2	8			
	6	Large splinter [cross-bar]						
		padlocks [at] 18	0	9	0	2	8	6
13	6	hasps and 12 staples				0	1	6
24	1	double spring Lock				0	1	6
August 24		For the <i>Mary Galley</i>						
		Capt. Tolson Commander.						
	1	steel handsaw whet and sett	3	0				
	3	helved Hatchetts [hatchets						
		with handles] at 14d.	3	6				
	2	marling spikes ⁴	2	0	0	8	6	

¹ The rates of charges in this account are not clearly stated. e.g. the "3" in the first item indicates pence and the "2" in the second, shillings. The "42" in the third entry apparently means 42s. per cwt., though the amount given is not accurate, neither are the majority of the totals.

² Lead nails for attaching the lead sheathing to the ship's bottom.

³ Pullback, a contrivance for holding something back.

⁴ "Marling-spike, an iron pin, tapering to a point, and furnished with a large round head. It is principally used . . . in the act of knotting or splicing" (Falconer, 1769).

176 ACCOUNTS DURING CONSTRUCTION [1704

1704		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
September 5	1000 2od. flat points [flat-pointed nails] at 10	8	4				
	500 10 [d] ditto at 7	2	11		0	11	3
14	1 Iron Pott containing 47 lb. 3	...	...		0	11	9
16	2 steel Crows ¹ containing 40						
	$\frac{3}{4}$ lb. at 3d	10	3				
	500 [<i>sic</i> ? 5] 4d Rose ² ...[at] 3d.	1	3		0	11	6

Store[s] for the *Mary Galley*

36	Tackle hookes at 3	9	0
36	Thimbles for ditto at 2	6	0
6	Candlesticks at 6	3	0
6	Linch pinns ³ at 2	1	0
12	Gunners Forelocks ⁴ at 1	1	0
2	claw hammers at 9	1	6
2	gimblets at [3]		6
2000	spung nailes at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁵	2	1
1	hand Vice at	2	0
1	marling spike at		9

Boatswaines Stores

Cask containing

10	steel Scrapers at 12	10	0
2	Pr Can hookes ⁶ at 1	2	0
1	Marling spike at	2	6
2	Fish Gigs ⁷ at 2/6	5	0
1	steel pick containing Ax at	2	6
21	Tackle at [4]	7	0
3	swivell } hookes at 6	1	6
36	thimbles } at 2	6	0

¹ "Crow, an iron lever . . furnished with a sharp point at one end, and two claws at the other . . used for various purposes, by shipwrights and mariners, as to remove pieces of timber, and other weighty bodies; and to draw spike-nails, etc. as well as to manage the great guns, by moving them into their ports, levelling or pointing them..." (Falconer, 1769).

² "Rose," an obsolete term for the card of a mariner's compass.

³ "Linch pinns," apparently for the trucks (wheels) of the gun-carriages.

⁴ "Fore-lock, a little flat-pointed wedge of iron, used to drive through a hole in the end of a bolt, to retain it firmly in its place" (Falconer, 1769).

⁵ The rate is per 100

⁶ "Can-hooks, an instrument used to sling a cask by the end of the staves; it is formed by fixing a broad and flat hook to each end of a short rope, and the tackle by which the cask so slung may be hoisted or lowered, is hooked to the middle of the rope" (Falconer, 1769).

⁷ "Fish-gig, an instrument used to strike fish at sea, particularly dolphins. It consists of a staff, three or four barbed prongs, and a line fastened to the end, on which the prongs are fixed: to the other end is fitted a piece of lead which serves to give additional force to the stroke when the weapon flies, and to turn the points upward when the fish is penetrated" (Falconer, 1769). See also Mundy, vol III, pp. 147, 341.

1704

£ s d.

Cooke's Stores
cask containing

1 Chopping knife	1	0
3 Iron Candlesticksat 6	1	6
1 Chafing dish	3	6

Coopers Stores
caske containing

1 Pr Tarrriers [tarring-irons]	1	3
2 Funnell pipes [for the Cook's hearth]	1	4
1 Round shave [scraper, paring- knife]	1	0
1 Coopers Ax	3	0
5 steel Drivers	5	0
2 Cold Chissellsat 10	1	8
8 punchesat 9	6	0
2 Coopers vicesat 6	1	0
4 Bousiers ¹at [3]	1	0
1 Iron knife		6
1 hand hammer	2	0
4 handles for hand hammers	1	0
1 handle for a Bung boarer }		
1 ditto for a Tap boarer }	0	0
1500 hope [hoop] Rivetts . . .at 8 ²	10	0
500 pump Tacksat 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Tap Boarer	1	0
8 Shackles for the Bilbow Bolt ³at 6	4	0

Carpenters Store
Cask No. 2 containing⁴

56 lb. spikesat 28	14	0
21 lb. sorted weight nail . . .at 3	5	3
7 lb. Clamp } nails 14 lb. at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
7 lb. deck }		
3000 rodat 7	17	6
2000 6at 4	6	8
3000 4at 3	7	6
1000 Trunk 4dat 3	2	6
3000 2d. nailesat 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	9
1000 4 scupperat 3	2	6
1000 6 Leadat 4	3	4

¹ "Bousiers," bolsters, small cushions or bags of tarred canvas used to preserve the stays from being chafed by the motion of the masts. Also pieces of timber to prevent chafing between ropes in other parts of the ship.

² The rate is per 100.

³ "Bilbow," bilboes, a long iron bar, furnished with sliding shackles to confine the ankles of prisoners, and a lock for fixing one end of the bar to the floor or ground.

⁴ The first eleven lines of the contents of cask No. 2 all refer to various kinds of nails. The rate of the first item is 28s. per cwt.; that of the next three is 3d. and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per lb., while items 5 to 11 are rated per 100.

1704

	£	s.	d.
6 hasps at 2	1	0	
12 staples for ditto .....at [1]	1	0	
1 Box marking Iron with spare Cutters 1	6		
2 Douling Bitts ¹ 6			
6 splinter pad Locks .. [at] 15	7	6	
4 Pr x garnetts ² . ....[at] 15	5	0	
6 pr Dovetailes . ....at 6	3	0	
6 pr side hinges ... ..at 10	5	0	
4 Boat hooks .... .at 6	2	0	
2 Clamps			
1 Axle and winch { 16 lb. at 3½	4	4	
1 pen [stylus, graver]	2	6	
1 double head[ed] maul 6 lb. } at 5	2	10	
[heavy hammer] 8½ lb. at 4			
2 splitting wedges.. 15½ lb.....at 13 [sic ? 3d]	3	11½	
1 pr pott hooks	1	0	
14 lb. Rings and forelocks ³ 3½d	3	9½	
1 Coopers Bick Iron ⁴ 13½ lb. 4d.	4	6	
1 Bung Boarer 2	6		
2 sett Boults...8 lb. ....at 3½d.	2	2	
2 Cold Chissells .....at 10	1	8	
1 wrest [rest] for a X [cross] Cutt saw 6			
1 Bag containing 1.0.14 2 Inch sheathings at 31 [s. per cwt.]	1	14	10½
1 pitch Ladle 1	6		
21 lb. 4od. nailes at 30	5	7½	
6 wood Axes .....at 18	9	0	
3 hatchets ... .....at 14	3	6	
2 pr pinnaceat 18 [d.] { Rother	3	0	
2 pr Long Boat [at] 2/6 { [rudder] Irons	5	0	
2 Coopers Compasses ...at 10	1	8	
1 Joynter Iron ⁵ 1	0		
28 lb. of 20d. nailes .....at 33	8	3	
28 lb. of 24 ditto .... .at 31	7	9	
28 lb. of 30 ditto .....at 30	7	6	
4 hatch Rings and starts ⁶ [at] 8	2	8	
4 files .....at 6	2	0	

¹ "Douling, a method of coaking, by letting pieces into the solid; or uniting two pieces together with tenons" (Steel, *Rigging and Seamanship*, 1794).

² "Cross-garnet," a hinge of a cross form, the upright part being nailed to the support and the horizontal to a door, etc.

³ See *ante*, note 4 on p. 176.

⁴ "Bick Iron," beak-iron, an anvil with two pointed extremities.

⁵ "Joynter Iron," a bent piece of iron inserted into a wall, etc., to strengthen a joint.

⁶ "Hatch Rings and starts" are rings and levers used to lift the movable planking which covered the hatchways.

1704

£ s. d. £ s. d.

Bundle No. 1

1 4 foot X cut steel saw	10	0	
2 handles for ditto		6	
1 6 foot steel whipsaw	1	0	0
1 Tiller ¹ for ditto	1	6	
1 Inch }	1	6	
1 7/8 } Engineer Augers	1	5	
1 3/4 }	1	4	
1 1/2 }	1	0	
4 shanks for ditto	at 9	3	0
1 Crow stock ² and Iron		2	0

Bundle No. 2

100 foot of winding plate ³ at 3	1	5	0
2 Frying pans at 2/6		5	0
1 Harping Iron [harpoon] ⁴ ...		2	6
5 vane [vane] spindles 12 foot			
... at 6 [sic]		6	0
1 Scowling Rod	1	6	

Bundle No. 3

4 Iron Crowes Steeled 0.2.7 1/2			
..... [at] 3d.	15	10 1/2	
1 Loggerheat ⁵ 18 lb. 1/2			
1 Bilboe Bolt and 8 shackles 36 lb 3/4	55 1/2	30	
1 Coopers Joynter	6	0	

Loose

2 Grindstones	6	0	
1 pr melleing [milling] hand-			
screws	1	6	0
			23 16 11

September 22d	3 splinter Locks	at 12	3	0	
	3 hasps	at 2		6	
	12 Round Boults	at 6	6	0	
	2 spring Ditto	at 4	0	8	
	30 staples	at 1	2	6	12 8

¹ "Tiller" (handle) for whipsaw (ribbon saw).² "Crow stock," handle for a crow. See note 1 on p. 176.³ For "winding plate," compare Falconer (*op. cit.*): "Serving, winding anything round a rope, to prevent it from being rubbed. The materials used for this purpose, and which are accordingly called service, are generally small lines, leather, plat, canvas, etc."⁴ Falconer (*op. cit.*) defines "Harpoon" as "a spear or javelin used to strike the whales in the Greenland fishery," and adds that it "is sometimes called the harping-iron."⁵ "Loggerheat," loggerhead, an instrument with a long handle and a ball or bulb at the end used, when heated in the fire, for melting pitch and other liquids.

180 ACCOUNTS DURING CONSTRUCTION [1704

1704		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
29	1.0.14 Inch $\frac{3}{4}$ sheathing at 33	1	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$			
	56 lb of Filling nailes ¹ ...at 42	1	1	0			
	3000 3 nailesat 2		5	0			
	2000 Tucks [tacks]at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$		2	1			
	1000 6d. nailes .. . . .at 4		3	4			
	2 Drive Boults weight						
	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. } 14 lb.						
	2 starting hammers } at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.		3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$			
	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ lb }					3	12 4
30	10 in. 6d. nailes .at 4 per Cwt.	1	13	4			
	1 Clever		2	6		1	15 10
	Cr.					£35	7 3
	By 1 pair handscrewes ...	1	6	0			
	1 hand vice		2	0			
	1 bag containing 1.0.10	1	13	9			
	1 bilbow Boults and 8 shakles						
	weight 36 $\frac{3}{4}$at 3.0		9	10			
	42 lb. Lead Nailes ....at 42		15	9			
			4	7 4			
October 7	Two small Top Chains 1.0.16				30	19	11
	..... at 4				2	2	8
9	12 Brass Armour Hooks ² ..					6	—
	12 Ditto					6	—
	1 Starting Hammer					1	6
	1 Drive Bolt					1	—
						33	17 1
	By one Drive Bolt and one starting Hammer						9
	Remains due	£33	16	4			
12	1 Large Sockett Pitch Ladle ³ ..			3			—
						33	19 4

November the 16: 1704: Received Thirtey three pound fifteney shilleing in full of this byl for Mr. Ambros Crowley by Richard Dawson: 33. 15. 00.

[Endorsed] Mr. Crowley Ironmonger: paid £33. 12. 6.

There remain four small accounts to note: Bowrey's personal notes of petty charges relating to the *Mary Galley* from March to October 1704; two painters' bills, one of Samuel Nix, and the other of "Alb Kam"; and a bill of Thomas Foster, the rigger.

¹ "Filling nailes," cast iron nails driven very thick in the bottom planks of a vessel, instead of copper sheathing. In the *Mary Galley* these filling nails were employed as a sheathing for her keel, instead of sheet lead.

² Armour hooks, probably hooks for the ship's arms rack.

³ "Sokett Pitch Ladle," a pitch ladle worked in a socket.

Paper 19.

[Extracts from Thomas Bowrey's Personal Notes of
 "Petty Charges¹ on the New Ship, March to October 1704."]

[42 entries of Waterage varying from 3s. to 5d., except on the
 22nd July, "Lanchung day," when it was 8s.]

	s.	d.
Carpinters—various small payments		
Ropemaker	1	0
Smith and Riggers	1	6
A Lock and Staples	1	4
Sailmakers	1	0
A Sive	2	10
A [copy of the] Piracy Act		6
Sawyers	1	2
Stamp Paper	1	1
Block maker		6
3 <i>lb.</i> white paint and brushes	1	9

Paper 20.

[Painters' bills.]

(a)

Work don per Samll. Nix

Jully the 20th, 1704.

for the youse [use] of the *Mary Gally* Capt. Touolsin
 [Tolson] Commander

	£	s.	d.
for priming And painting 8 gally Ores [oars] at 12d.			
per pece	00	08	00
for priming and painting 13 ores for the boat At 6d.			
per pece	00	06	06

September the 30th, 1704.

for priming and painting 84 yds. of Canvis at 6d.			
per yd.	02	02	00
for Staining a pece of Canvis	00	02	06
		02	19 00

December the 1 1704 Received To)
 [Two] pound In full of this bill and £02.
 all accounts

per Me Samll. Nix

[Endorsed in Thomas Bowrey's hand]: Mr. Nix, Painter: paid
 £1. 18. 9².

¹ This appears to be the account for the "Small things for which no Bills Brought in," assessed at £20 in Paper 12 above, although it must have reached a higher sum.

² It will be perceived that the bill came to £2. 19s. 0d., was settled for £2. 0s. 0d., of which only £1. 18s. 9d. was paid.

[Painters' Bills.]

(b)

For worck don on board the *Mary Gally* [by Albert Kam]

	£	s.	d.
To painting the Cabbins—Landskip &ca. ¹	2	0	0
To painting 6 Cabbins green in side	1	0	0
To painting 2 henn Coops and 1 binnekell ²		7	0
To painting a quarterdeck, table & a Chayr ³		7	0
	<hr/>		
	3	00	0

Received the 2 of Desember 1704 the sum of three pounds of Capt. Bowren in full of this bill by me. ALB KAM.

Paper 21.[Rigger's Bill³.][Receipt for rigging the *Mary Galley*.]

September the 13 1704

Received then of Mr. Thomas Bourey the sum of Eleven pound in full for The Riggins of the *Marey galey* per me THOMAS FOSTER.

Given 5s. [in addition to bill].

[Endorsed] Mr. Foster Rigger: paid £11. 5. 0.

The Launching of the Ship

The only documents that have survived in connection with the launching of the *Mary Galley* on 22 July 1704 are some notes in Bowrey's hand containing a list of some of the articles provided for the "Lanching Dinner" and the cook's bill for preparing the feast (see Paper 22 below). There are, in addition, the items of expenses recorded in Tolson's account (Paper 17 above) under date 22 July.

There is no indication as to where the dinner was held nor any list of the attendance. It is to be presumed that the

¹ The words "Landskip &ca." are added in Bowrey's hand. The term may mean a fanciful design with which the cabin was decorated. As it occurs in a painter's bill it can hardly be used in its seventeenth century sense of a map or plan, and no instance of its employment to indicate any specified part of a ship has been found.

² These last two items are scored through and the total of the bill is altered from £3. 14s. to £3.

³ This bill may refer to the rigging detailed in the Addendum to Paper 1.

builder, owners and prospective captain were of the party, and the amount of provisions supplied suggests the presence of a certain number of guests to celebrate the occasion.

It will be noticed that Bowrey's notes omit any mention of the ham, the cooking of which is charged one shilling in Warham's bill. This is doubtless accounted for by the fact that it was supplied from Mrs Bowrey's larder, every good housewife in those days priding herself on her home-cured hams, prepared by the method handed down for generations from mother to daughter.

Paper 22.

Lanching Dinner [22 July 1704].

[Notes in Bowrey's hand.]

	£	s.	d.
6 <i>h.</i> sugar at 13½d.	0	6	9
Lemons	0	1	8
Beefe surloin	0	8	0
4 Lobsters	0	4	6
8 Fowls and 6 Chickens	0	16	0
Mr. Warham the Cooks bill	3	10	6
15 Half Flasks Florence ¹	2	5	0
1 Gallon Brandy	0	13	0
2 Qts. Lime juice	0	2	3
Porter	0	1	0
	8	08	8
1 Gallon Rhenish	0	6	0
	8	14	8

[The Cook's Bill.]

Capt. Bowrey

[dr to T. Warham, Cook].

Boyling the Ham	0	1	0
Rosting 8 fowls and six Chicken	0	6	0
four Tongues	0	10	8
Lobster	—	—	—
2 Dishes of Tartes and pufes and Custard and Amond			
Chescak ²	0	10	0
A dish of frut	0	5	0
Rosting a Sir Loyn of Beefe	0	2	0

¹ "Florence" wine, a red Italian wine brought from Florence.

² Almond cheesecake.

	£	s	d.
Bread	0	3	6
Oate Ale 24 Bottles	0	5	0
Linin and putter [pewter] and knifes and forkes	0	15	0
pickels	0	2	6
Boathier [Boat hire] and portrige	0	6	0
My self and Man	0	12	6
	3	18	2 ¹
		7	6
	3	10	8

July the 25. 1704. Received The full Contents of This Bill and All Account Per THO: WARHAM.

[Endorsed by Bowrey]. Mr. Warham Cook &ca. Charges Lanching Dinner: paid.

Papers relating to the Officers and Crew of the Ship

THE CAPTAIN AND OFFICERS OF THE *MARY GALLEY*.

A few papers have been preserved during the construction of the *Mary Galley* concerning Joseph Tolson the captain, Elias Grist the purser, and Thomas Studds, midshipman, all of which are interesting.

As regards Captain Tolson, Bowrey's trading instructions and the ship's trading license, taken out by Tolson at the Skinners' Hall on 3 October 1704, are instructive reading. On 12 October Tolson entered into an agreement with all his co-owners as to his commission on the sale proceeds of the *Mary Galley's* homeward cargo, which was to be 4 per cent. on the gross sales for himself, but in case of his death only 3 per cent. for his heirs. He also assigned half his share to John Tushingam, Bowrey's attorney, thereby recovering three-quarters of his "subscription" (see Paper 31). This also seems to account for the bottomry bond for £50 in Paper 5.

Tolson further, on 3 October, entered into an agreement to receive a salary of £10 per month, apparently paid to his wife in England, from the date of sailing from Gravesend (12 September 1704) and £30 table allowance for the voyage.

¹ Warham's bill is wrongly added. It should be £3 19s. 2d. The 7s. 6d. was probably deducted for cash, though it seems a big discount.

On 12 October he gave Bowrey a bond, with certain formal reservations usual at the period, that he would return within 36 calendar months, or forfeit £75, with the addition of £1. 5s. for each month overstayed. On the 16th Bowrey signed a deed at Gravesend indemnifying Tolson from the ship's debts. On the same day Tolson also signed a bill of lading "Inside and Contents unknown per mee," which has been preserved. This bill of lading shows that the goods mentioned in the license to trade were duly shipped on board the *Mary Galley*.

The next deed available is between Bowrey, Hammond, Jackson and Elias Grist (as purser), by which Grist paid £53. 15s. before it was sealed, apparently by way of guarantee, and was to receive $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the homeward cargo sold.

The most interesting document of all, however, is an account of the outfit of Thomas Studds, midshipman (Paper 35). His mother, Hannah Studds, was Bowrey's cousin, and Bowrey had apparently taken his young relative under his charge. The list is extraordinarily small for a long voyage to sea in the tropics. Its cost only reached £4. 14s. 8d. and the amount was paid by Bowrey, who had also borne the expenses of "Makeing Thomas Stods Cloos" at a cost of £1. 6s. in December 1703. Bowrey further held himself responsible to a master who taught Thomas Studds "Navigation and Arithmetick" (see Paper 36 below).

Of the officers of the *Mary Galley* very little, beyond what is furnished by the papers preserved, has been ascertained. No earlier mention of Joseph Tolson, the captain and chief supercargo, has been found, nor has the relationship between him and Richard Tolson, one of the shareholders of the vessel, been established. It is just possible that this Richard may be the Richard Tolson of Lincoln's Inn, whose will (P.C.C. 222 *Shaller*) was proved on 23 October 1720, and that Joseph Tolson may be the individual referred to in the following remark: "I desire my said Daughters [Sarah and Elizabeth] to educate my Grandson Richard as they think fitt but have a care they are not concerned with his Father [? Joseph]."

Joseph Tolson's differences with Thomas Bowrey, following on the seizure of the *Mary Galley* in 1707, and the subsequent arbitration of their dispute are detailed in the closing chapters of this volume.

After the settlement of his claims Tolson lost no time in entering the service of the East India Company. He commanded successively three ships named *Heathcote*, East Indiamen, from November 1708 until August 1735, and made seven voyages to India in them. The logs of these voyages are among the *Marine Records* at the India Office. In one of them, relating the journey to Bombay and back, 1711-13, there is a list of the officers and crew of the vessel, and among the names are those of Benoni Hancock and Jarrad Cutberson. The former, who set out in the *Mary Galley* as a midshipman and subsequently became second mate (see Paper 59), was "Gunner" in one of the *Heathcotes*, and the latter, the carpenter of the *Mary Galley*, retained the same post when he followed the further fortunes of Tolson.

Richard Griffin, the chief mate, had a brother Nicholas, a midshipman on board the E.I.Co.'s ship *Abingdon*, and his parents resided near Ratcliffe Cross. These details are furnished in his letter from the Cape (Paper 58), and the documents printed in Chapters v and vi describe his conduct at the time of the seizure of the *Mary Galley* in 1707 and during the subsequent proceedings in connection with the vessel.

George Dungey, second mate and gunner, left the ship at Bencoolen in May 1705, and entered the service of Governor Richard Watts as chief mate of the *Sarum*, but came home as a midshipman in the *Herne*, East Indiaman (see Papers 59 and 62).

Elias Grist, the purser, played an unenviable part in the action brought against his captain after the seizure of the vessel, and nothing more has been discovered regarding him.

Joseph Dupuy, the second supercargo, was a son of Elias Dupuy, part owner of the *Mary Galley*. He proved a graceless ne'er-do-well and was a source of trouble and expense until he was precluded from participating in any business connected with the vessel (see Papers 72 and 73). Yet he

remained on board and returned to England, presumably as a passenger.

There is nothing to show how John Elliott, the ship's doctor, obtained the post, nor is anything known of him after the settlement of his claims in England in 1708.

Of the two midshipmen, Benoni Hancock became second mate and subsequently served under Tolson in one, at least, of his voyages under the E.I.Co., as related above. Thomas Studds seems to have continued to follow a seafaring life, for by his will (proved 16 March 1712/13) Bowrey bequeathed to him, besides £50, his wearing apparel and sword, £5 for mourning and a "Twenty Shilling ring," all his books, "Journalls and Maps." Thomas Studds also benefited by the will of Mary Bowrey, widow of Thomas Bowrey, who died in 1715.

THE CREW OF THE *MARY GALLEY*.

The crew of the *Mary Galley* was completed between 11 and 26 September 1704, in London, and consisted of the commander and officers noted above, a carpenter and his mate, Jarrad Cutberson and Francis Trimer; a boatswain, James Goodman; a cooper, John Painter; a cook, Samuell Wood; a tailor, Thomas Ramsey; a boy, Daniell Bowden; and eleven sailors or foremastmen, making a total of 26.

It is not easy to say, from the papers available, what happened to all of the crew during the voyage, but it is clear that Ramsey the tailor, "Good for Nothing," and Wood the cook, ran away at the Cape, while James Jones foremastman, was discharged there. Joseph Ford foremastman deserted at Bencoolen and John Rotray died shortly after leaving that place. Goodman the boatswain disappeared at Calcutta and John Redshaw foremastman was discharged there. Trimer the carpenter's mate and Archibald Wightman (Whitman) died at Batavia, and Dennis Dale was also discharged there.

This accounts for ten of the original crew in the East. To replace losses, several men were recruited on the voyage, at the Cape, Bencoolen, Batavia and Calcutta, most of whom ran away or disappeared soon after, but eight were on board when the ship was attacked by French privateers in August

1707, *viz.* three Dutchmen, John Godfrey sailmaker, Jacob Keirckson, James Johnson *alias* Grub, recruited at Batavia, and five Englishmen, Mordecai Eve, William Heighington steward, Francis Whitton tailor, Henry Demster, and Henry Vernon, all recruited in Batavia except the last who was taken on in Bengal. There were also on board at that time, Nicolo, a cook, and a boy, both of whom were "Black slaves." Of these, present at the fight three days before the capture of the ship, one Englishman, Francis Whitton, was killed, and two Dutchmen, Godfrey and Keirckson, died of wounds at Dunkirk.

A paper is extant in which Tolson makes a claim for table-money of the crew while on the voyage. This paper gives a crew of 24 besides himself at the time of the capture and the names of them all. But it must be treated *cum grano salis*. It is, however, supplemented by Bowrey's accounts when he settled with them one by one in 1708-9.

In addition to those above mentioned, other men—English, Dutch and half-caste—were recruited on the voyage. Among them were a serang and seven lascars "imprest" in Calcutta and discharged in Batavia. The rest either ran away or were discharged in the East.

Paper 23.

[List of the Crew shipped in England 11 to 26
September 1704.]

Men shipped on board the *Mary Galley*¹.

1 Tolson, Joseph	Commander & Supracargoe
2 Griffin, Richard	1st Mate
3 Dupuy, Joseph	2nd Supracargoe
4 Dungey, George	2nd Mate
5 Grist, Elias	Purser Super Numory
6 Studs, Thomas	Midshipman
7 Hanckock, Bennony	Ditto
8 Elliott, John	Docter Super Numery
9 Cutberson, Jarrad	Carpenter
10 Turner, Francis	Do. Mate (d. 5 Aug. 1705 at Batavia)
11 Goodman, James	Boateswaine (run at Calcutta)

¹ There are three lists extant. These have been amalgamated as regards the remarks on the individuals. The variations in the spelling of the names are given in the note below.

12 Redshaw, John	(discharged 19 Nov. 1705 at Calcutta)
13 Nearn, George	
14 Sheilds, Martin	
15 Bowden, Daniell	Boy
16 Painter, John	Cooper (and steward, d. at Batavia 5 Aug. 1706).
17 Wood, Samuel	Cook (ran away at the Cape)
18 Ramsay, Thomas	Taylor. Good for Nothing (ran away at the Cape)
19 Molloy, Hugh	Gon on bord the <i>Todington</i>
20 Foorfoot, Samuel	(Taken prisoner 1707)
21 Ford, Joseph	(ran at Bencoolen)
22 Mitchell, John	(boatswain, taken prisoner 1707)
23 Rotray, John	(d. 22 May 1705)
24 Whitman, Archiball	(d. 14 April 1706)
25 Jones, James	(discharged at the Cape)
26 Dale, Dennis ¹	

Paper 24².

[List of the Crew shipped on the Voyage, May 1705
to January 1706/7.]

Smith, William	Run away at Sillebar [Bencoolen] May 1705
Hornesby, Jos: at Bencola May 1705	Discharged and paid in Bangall Dec. 1705
3 Dutch men at Batavia 1705 ³	Run away in Bangall Dec. 1705
Marquiss, Silvestor at Batavia Aug or Sept. 1705	Discharged and Paid April 1706
Jacinto, Malayo, at Batavia Do.	Discharged and Paid Do.
A Serang and 7 Lascars at Bangal 1705/6	Paid 4 mo. Imprest about the end of the said time. Discharged at Batavia 1706

¹ The following variations of the above names occur in the other lists.
Studs, Studes, Studds, Thomas.
Hancock, Handcock, Benoni, Benony.
Cutberson, Cutberdson, Cuthbeardson, Jarrad, Jarat.
Trimer, Trimmer, Francis, Frances
Nearn, Nearne, Neine, George.
Foorfoot, Purfoot, Toorfoot, Tourfoot, Terfoott, Samuel, Sammuell.
Rotray, Rottery, John.
Whitman, Wightman, Archibald.
Dale, Doyle, Dennis.

² This paper is entitled "Men Shipt att the Cape Outward: From Mr. Griffin, 13 March 1707/8." As will be seen, the men were not recruited at the Cape, but at Batavia and in Bengal. The list was furnished to Bowrey by Richard Griffin, chief mate, after the capture of the vessel, while the settlement of claims for wages was pending.

³ From another list we learn that two of these were John a sailmaker, and Bollman Johnson.

Godfrey, John, Sailmaker, a Dutchman at 40s. per mo. at Batavia Aug. 1706	Died of wounds at Dunkirk 1707
Keirckson, Jacob, a Dutchman at Ditto Ditto	Died of wounds 1707
Johnson, James ¹ , <i>alias</i> Grub, a Dutchman at Ditto Do.	Taken
Dampeirs men ²	
Eve, Mordecai, at Batavia June or July 1706	Taken prisoner. In France 1708
Heighington, Wm, Steward at Do. Do.	Taken prisoner
Whitton, Francis ³ , Taylor at Do. Do	Killed 1707
Crispe, Ellis, at Do. Do.	Run in Bangall
Jay, Thomas, Drummer at Do. Do.	Discharged at Bancola—no Wages
Copper, John, at Do. Do.	Ditto
Wilkison, Sam: at Do. Do.	Discharged in Bangall for which allowed his wages due
Demster, Hen: at Do. Do.	Taken
Vernon, Hen: at Bangall Jan. 1706/7	Taken
Nicolo, Cook } Boy }	Black slaves

Captain's Papers

Paper 25.

[The Ship's License to trade in the East Indies in
Captain Joseph Tolson's Name⁴.]

In the *Mary Gally* Capt. Jos. Tolson Commander per East
Indies: [Sd.] JOSEPH TOLSON

M G	Two boxes Cu[t]laryware qt. [containing] 8 gross	£	s.	d.
	of Sisars [scissors] at 16s.	6	8	—
	1½ gross of knives at 52	3	18	—
	Eight Chests and Two Boxes containing flint, Glasses ⁵ , <i>Vizt.</i>			

¹ In another list he is called John Johnson.

² The allusion seems to be to William Dampier, buccaneer, navigator and hydrographer, who at this period (1703-7) was in command of two government privateers on an expedition to the South Seas.

³ This name is also given as Ditton.

⁴ Section 66 of 9 and 10 William III, c. 44, enacted that an entry of goods on the separate stock should be made upon oath so that those trading on a separate stock "do not send more Goods, Coins or Merchandizes in the said Trade, than they respectively are allowed to send by the said Act."

⁵ "Flint Glass," a composition of lead, sand and saltpetre or borax.

362 Hubblebubbles ¹	£	s.	d.
121 Spires ²			
87 Paun boxes ³			
38 Gurgletts ⁴			
39 Stands			
89 Canes ⁵			
235 Stems			
529 Taps			
1500 peeces weight 1109 <i>li.</i> att 15 per <i>h.</i> with Charges	79	16	3
Seven Chests of Beere each Chest containing 13 Doz. Bottles in all 250 gallons value	14	11	—
Forty hogsheads of Beer	37	9	—
3 Chests of Wine each Chest containing 13 Dozen Bottles, in all 108 Gallons vallue	19	10	—
Cheese 10 C. weight [cwt.]	11	10	—
Fourteene Old Iron Gunns weight 54 cwt. — qr. 21 <i>h.</i> with Carriages	28	8	11
Eight Old Anchors weightt 49 cwt. 3 qr. 1 <i>h.</i> at 21s. 6d. per <i>li.</i>	53	9	10
Lead in 312 Slabbs weight 23 fodder ⁶ and $\frac{5}{8}$ at £10. 7s.	244	10	6
	£499	11	6

LONDON 3d OCTOBER 1704.

THESE are to certify That Joseph Tolson hath Lycence to trade to the East Indies for the Summe of Four hundred Ninty Nine pounds Eleven Shillings and Sixpence and in Virtue thereof hath duely enterd in the Books of the English Company Trading to the East Indies the above mention'd goods in the Ship *Mary Gally* whereof he the Said Joseph Tolson is Comander

JOHN GARDNER
Secretary.

[Endorsed]—Entry at Skinners Hall and the Company's Certificate: a Copy.

¹ "Hubblebubbles," hubblebubbles, pipes of glass in the form of the oriental hookah.

² "Spires," glasses with spiral or curved stems, or with a special pattern inside the stem.

³ "Paun boxes," boxes for betel-leaf (*pān*).

⁴ "Gurglett," guglet, a long-necked vessel for holding water.

⁵ "Canes," an obsolete term for slender glass tubes.

⁶ "Fodder," a measure of lead varying in different countries. Kelly (*Universal Cambist*, I, 220) says. "A Fodder of lead in London and Hull is 19½ Cwt."

Paper 26.

[Bowrey's Trading Instructions to Tolson.]

Memorandums of what is Proper to be done by Joseph Tolson,
Comander and Cheife Supra Cargoe of the *Mary Gally*.

In the Ships Stores is more then sufficient for the Ships use of Beer in Bottles and Cask, Cheese, Wine, Iron Guns, Wood, box Compasses [compasses in boxes, i.e., binnacles], 2 Iron Swivells [swivel-guns], cables for Carbine shott, Small shot, Cordage and the Fuzees [slow-match], Nails, Anchors, all which to sell in India (reserving only 6 Guns in the Wast and the 4 small Guns in Swivells) and to sett down the Produce thereof to the Account of the Cargoe, not mentioning the quantity of Goods Sold, but say (as per Example)—

Dollers

Beer Sold for 100

and to take the same Method in Accounts of the sale of all the same sorts of Goods in the Cargoe¹. Noat all the Beer in Bottles and the 18 Ton of Small Beer in Cask is for sale in India.

If any Passengers offer from India to England, I will give them their Passage and the Ships Provisions if they will sell me to the Value of £60 in any sorts of Goods I desire for the Cargoe, for which I to pay only £30².

If make Agreement to carry Pepper from Bancola [Bencoolen] to Bangal, as in your Instructions, in such case not to account the Money gained by the Pepper as Freight, but as the Produce of the Cargoe, being bought with the Money of the Cargoe, and therefore not to give Credit for it in the Ships Book as directed in other Cases in your Instructions³.

The Coals, Pease, Flower, &c. are filled in tight Iron bound Cask. As they are emptyed (or any other Cask), to preserve them Tight, to fill with Arrack at Batavia, to carry for Sale to the Coast or Bay.

When in India, to Mount as many Guns as possible, thereby to sell them the better⁴.

[Endorsed]: Memorandums to Captain Tolson for the Voyage.

¹ The meaning of the text appears to be that this class of goods was to be accounted for in bulk, apparently to evade port dues in the Eastern seas.

² This is a roundabout way of charging £30 for the passage home.

³ This again reads as if pepper bought by money procured by the sale of cargo was not to be accounted for in the ship's books, perhaps to avoid port dues or possibly confiscation by the East India Company.

⁴ Paper 25 shows that the value of the trading cargo was £500 in England.

Paper 27.

[Bill of Lading of the *Mary Galley*¹ 16 October 1704]

Shipped by the Grace of God in good order and well Conditioned on board the *Mary Gally* whereof is Master under God for this present Voyage Joseph Tolson and now at Anchor in the River of Thames and by Gods permission bound to Several Ports and places in East India, *Vizt.*

MG No 1	1 Box qt. 8 Groce of Guilded Sisars
	1½ Groce of Glas hafted knives plain
No. 3 to 12	2 Boxes qt. flint Glas Guilded painted and graved, vizt.
	362 hublebubbles
	121 Spires
	87 Paun boxes
	38 Gurglets
	39 Stands
	189 Canes ²
	235 Stems
	529 Tops
	<hr/> 1600 ps. qt. 1109 <i>li.</i>
No. 13 to 19	7 Chest each qt. 13 Dosen quart bottles of strong beer
MG	40 hogshead Strong Bear
	3 Chest each qt. 12 Dosen ³ Quart Bottles of Claret
	63 Cheeses qt. 10 cwt. 10 qrs. 0 <i>li.</i>
	14 Iron Guns qt. 54 cwt. 0 qr. 21 <i>li.</i>
	8 Anchors qt. 49 cwt. 3 qrs. 1 <i>li.</i>
	309 Slabs of lead ⁴ 23 Fodder 12 cwt. 0 qr. 12 <i>li.</i>

Being marked and Numbered as in the Margent and are to be delivered in the like good order and well Conditioned at severall Ports and places in East India (the dangers of the Seas only excepted) unto the Above Said Captain Joseph Tolson, Mr. Joseph Dupuy and Mr. Richard Griffin or to such other as shall be Supra Cargo of the Said Ship freight and Primidge free.

In Witness wherof the Master of the Said Ship hath affirmed to three bill[s] of lading of this tenor and Date, the one of wich

¹ There is a duplicate of this document in existence among the papers.

² This item does not agree with the License (Paper 25), which has "89 Canes" and the total "1500 peeces," whereas the total of this document is 1600 pieces. So it would seem that 100 canes were somehow smuggled on board.

³ The License has "13 Doz. Bottles."

⁴ The License has "312 Slabbs" of lead.

three bills being Accomplished the other two to stand void; And
So God send the Ship to her desired ports in Safety Amen.

Dated in Gravesend October the 16th 1704

Inside and Contents unknown per mee JOSEPH TOLSON.

Paper 28.

[Victualling Stores.]

Victu[alling] in the *Mary Gally* Joseph Tolson for India:
170 ton: 16 gunns: 30 Men¹: 2 years.

Ale	4 tons ²
Beefe and pork	12 tons
Bisquet	30 Tub
Beere Small	30 tons
Beere Strong	5 tons
Butter	30 ferkin
Brandy fore [<i>sic</i>]	2 tons
Beveridge wine	3 tons
Billet wood	15 Tub
Bacon	10 cwt.
Brimstone	1 cwt.
Chcese	15 cwt.
Candles	50 Doz.
Canvas	300 yds.
Coales	3 Chaldron
Cloths for Seamen	1 Chest
Chyrurgery ³	2 Chest
Cordage	10 tons
Fish	4000
Fruite	10 cwt.
Flower	40 cwt.
Gunpowder	24 barrills
Herrings	2 barrills
Iron for store	3 tons
Iron Shott	10 cwt.
Lead for store	6 cwt.
Lead Shott	6 cwt.
Lime Juice	100 gallons
Mum [beer]	5 barills
Match [tow]	3 cwt.
Musterd Seed	2 bushels

¹ Only 26 men were shipped. See Paper 23. The tonnage of the vessel is given as 167 tons in Papers 3 and 4.

² By "ton," "cask (tun)" is meant.

³ From Bowrey's private account book we learn that he paid for "fitting the Surgery Chest for the *Mary Gally*," £.17 4s. 3d.

Neats Tongues	4 Dozen
Nailes	1 cwt.
Oatmeal and Grouts	60 bushels
Oyl	150 gallons
Oats, barly and bran	30 bushels
Ordnance ¹	16 Ps.
Pease	150 bushels
pitch, Tarr and Rozin	15 barills
Pump Leather	14 buckets
Suger	10 cwt.
Salt	30 bushels
Strong waters	36 gallons
Salmon	4 barills
Spice	60 <i>li.</i>
Syder	3 tons
Sauces	12 Cases
Tobacco	8 cwt.
Tobacco pipes	40 Gross
Tallow	12 cwt.
Viniger	2 tons
Wine	3 tons

5 September 1704. [Endorsed]: Bill of Store.

Paper 29.

Bond of Captain Joseph Tolson and Thomas Burgess² for performance of Covenants [dated 3 October 1704].

[A formal document.]

Paper 30.

An Agreement between Captain Bowrey &c. and Captain Tolson concerning said Tolson's going Comander and Supra Cargo in the Ship *Mary Gally* [dated 3 October 1704].

[Salary £10 per month from the date of sailing from Gravesend. Table allowance £30 for the voyage.

A formal document.]

¹ "Ordnance 16 Ps. [pieces]." Of the total sixteen pieces of ordnance, we see from Paper 27 that fourteen were iron guns. As four small guns in swivels were to be reserved for arming the ship (see Paper 26), and only two iron swivels are specifically mentioned, it would seem that the other two swivel guns were of brass. If this surmise is correct, the vessel carried six iron guns on carriages in the waist, four swivel guns (two of iron and two of brass) mounted on timber heads on the quarter-deck, while six more iron guns for trading purposes were stowed in the hold.

² Captain Thomas Burgess commanded the *Fleet* Frigate, an East Indiaman, on her voyage to Madras and Bengal, December 1705–April 1707.

[On 8 October Tolson signed a receipt for £174 received from Bowrey for table allowance (£30), "Imprest money" (£22), money for "disbursements" (£102, see endorsement of Paper 17) and money "delivered to me" (£20). To this Bowrey added "I paid him £1: 0: 0 more for Disbursements."]

[Endorsed]: Capt. Tolsons Covenants with the Owners and Bond for Performance.

Paper 31.

Indenture of Captain Joseph Tolson as Captain and Chief Supercargo [dated 12 October 1704].

[Agreement between Bowrey, Jackson, Hammond, Elias Grist, Richard Tolson, Elias Dupuy, merchants and part owners, and Joseph Tolson.

Tolson to have £4 per cent. on the gross sales "at the candle"¹ of the homeward cargo, less discount for prompt payment. In case of his death his executors to be paid £3 per cent. only.

Tolson assigns one half of his share to John Tushingam of London, gentleman, and receives £150 in consideration thereof.]

[Endorsed]: Captain Tolson's Assignment to Mr. John Tushingam.

Paper 32.

Captain Tolson's Bond to Thomas Bowrey
[dated 12 October 1704].

[Tolson to return within 36 calendar months or to forfeit £75 and £1. 5s for every month or portion of month overstayed—with certain reservations such as capture, fire and any other casualties.

A formal document.]

Paper 33.

[An Indemnification from Ship's Debts for Captain Tolson, dated 16 October 1704, signed by T. Bowrey and T. Hammond.]

Gravesend the 16 Octr: 1704.

WHEREAS Captain Joseph Tolson has Signed Articles Indented betweene him and the Owners of the *Mary Gally*, whereof he is Comander, and now bound on a Voyage to East India, wherein it is Covenanted that the said Joseph Tolson shall deliver up the Possession of the said Ship to the said Owners or thire Order on demand.

NOW we doe hereby Promise in behalfe of our Selves and the rest of the Owners of the said Ship that when ever such Possession shall be demanded that we will Indemnifie and bear harmless the

¹ That is, by inch of candle.

said Captain Jos: Tolson from all Debt that shall be then due to any Persons whatever on said Ships Account.

THOS: BOWREY

THOS: HAMMOND

[Endorsed]: To Indemnifie Captn. Tolson from Ships Debts.

Paper 34.

[Purser's Paper.]

[Indenture between Thomas Bowrey, Thomas Hammond and George Jackson, Merchants, and Elias Grist, dated 2 September 1704.]

[Grist had paid £53. 15s. before sailing, in return for his position as Purser, and was to have ten shillings for every £100 of goods of the homeward cargo sold, less discount for cash payments.

A formal document.]

[Endorsed]: An Agreement Inter Captain Bowrey &c. And Mr. Grist.

Paper 35.

[Midshipman's Papers.]

[Midshipman's Equipment.]

An Account of what thinges Thomas Studds [Midshipman] has Aboard in the *Mary Galley*. October the 7th 1704.

4 holland Check Shirts	01 03 06
4 pair of Drawers	00 10 00
4 Colloured Handkerchiefes	00 03 08
a pair of Colloured Pillowbears [pillow cases]	00 03 00
a pair of bed Blanketts	00 06 08
one Quilt	00 12 00
4 yards of broad Check	00 05 04
3 pair of new Shoes	00 10 00
2 pair of Worsted Stockens	00 07 00
One Velvett Cap	00 04 00
3 Check Capps	00 01 00
1 Tin Box	00 00 06
1 Tin Candlestick	00 01 00
2 knives and forkes	00 02 06
2 Comes	00 01 00
2 pair of Buckells	00 01 06
A pewter Chamber pott	00 02 00

Summe ... 04 14 08

[Endorsed]: For Captain Bowrey.

[Note in T.B.'s writing]: Mrs. Studds for Cloths, &ca. for Thomas Studds.

Paper 36.

[Midshipman's Education.]

October the 11th Anno 1704.

Then Received of Captain Bowrey the Sum of One pound Ten Shillings being the Remainder and full payment of the Summ of Three pounds and is in full for Learning Thomas Studds Navigation and Arithmetick According to Contract li. l. 10s. od.

HUMP: RICHARDS

The Insurance of the Mary Galley.

Bowrey seems to have effected two insurances of the *Mary Galley* in 1704 for her outward voyage to India. The first was with Messrs Larwood and Son of Amsterdam, to whom he wrote on 10 August 1704 regarding the insurance of his various ships, including the *Mary Galley*. This letter is not now available, but their reply is dated 2 September and shows that the premiums then were very high, 15 to 22 per cent. to the East.

In the same letter Bowrey enquired about furnishing money through Messrs Larwood to Captain Tolson in India, and they advised him that as the cost and risk of such a procedure were very great—nearly 30 per cent.—it would be best to send the money himself in cash, insured.

The second insurance was effected on 15 September 1704 with Messrs Gregory and Glover of London at a premium of 16 guineas per cent., and on 12 October 1704 Bowrey paid £100 as part premium.

As regards the homeward voyage, Bowrey insured the ship in 1706 with Messrs Henriques of Amsterdam at 20 per cent. with leave to proceed to Holland with the Dutch East India Fleet from Batavia.

In 1707 he began to get anxious about the vessel and had further correspondence with Messrs Henriques on the subject. This is detailed in Chapter VII.

Paper 36.

[Insurance of the *Mary Galley* for the Outward Voyage with Messrs Larwood and Son of Amsterdam.]

Amsterdam the 2d September 1704 [N.S.].

Mr Thomas Bowrey: Sir, we received yours of the 1st past,

which was 5 dayes older then any we received with the same post. We have enquired about the ensurance to the Eastindies, which is very different according as the voyage may be, suppose the ship may go no further then Battavia, or he may go to China or Japan. Wherefore it will be needfull to specify all places he intends to call at. On the *Rising Sun*¹ they demand 20 or 22 Per Cent, and on the *Mary Galley*, outwards bound, from 15 to 17 Per cent, and home 18 to 20 Per Cent. But if you can give us an exact account how She intends to proceed her voyage from place to place, we shall be able to give you a more neat account.

We have also enquired about furnishing money there [in India] to Captain Tolson, but find it can be done no otherwayes here then by depositing the money imediateley, and then they send it in Speci from hence, by which at receipt there your frind will loose 25 Per Cent, besides 4 Per Cent there must be allowed them here, so that you had better send it in Speci and let ensurance be made on it, for if the ship should arrive before our ships there, the Captain can have no money. Our [Dutch East India] Company dos sometimes furnish money there, receiving it here with 1 Per Cent for the frait, but its under Solemne protestation that its for inheritance, which is only sent thither on that account² and is all at present save tender of due respects, and are Sir, yours at Command, JACOB LARWOOD Senr. & Junr.

[Addressed] To Mr. Thomas Bowrey at Mrs. Gardners in Marine Square, Merchant, In London.

Paper 37.

[Insurance of the *Mary Galley* for the Outward Voyage with Messrs Gregory and Glover.]

(a)

Captain Thomas Bowrey dr. to Messrs. Gregory and Glover for Insurance³.

15 Sept. 1704	To £1250 on the <i>Mary Gally</i> at	£	s.	d.
	16 guineas per cent	215.	1.	6

¹ The *Rising Sun*, of which Bowrey was part-owner, sailed to India in February 1703/4 after having had a marvellous escape in the great storm of November 1703. Her story, gathered from the Bowrey papers, is as interesting as that of the *Mary Galley*.

² The portion omitted relates to other ships.

³ Extract from Bowrey's private account book.

(b)

London the 12th October 1704.

Received of Captain Thomas Bowrey One Hundred Pounds being in part for Premium on the *Mary*. I say Received for Mr. Noel Glover and Selfe:

JNO. GREGORY

£100. --

[Endorsed]: Mr. Gregory & Glover: 1704.

Paper 38.

[Insurance of the *Mary Galley* on the Homeward Voyage with Messrs Henriques of Amsterdam.]

Amsterdam this 23 March Anno 1706 [N.S.].

Mr Thomas Bowrey, Sir, I am favord with yours of $\frac{5}{16}$, instand, in answer of my Last, and acording [to] your order, have made f. [florins] 5250 Inshooranse in the *Rising Sun*, Captain Thomas Wybergh, and f. 2100 in the *Mary Gally*, Captain Joseph Tolson, all at 20 per cent. [A line illegible]¹ and inclosed you have all as itt his [is] done in the Police [policy], that I believe will please in all [particulars]². And if [she ?*Mary Galley*] Comes with the Holand Ships shall not bee deemed a Diviation in her Voyadge, and allsoc [as to] the Pepper inclosed shall advice [advise]³.

As to the £100 Bottemere [bottomry], if you please, [you] have only to give your order as you have Pleased [formerly and it] shall be done. And I doe ashoor your good selve you shall [be] please[d]⁴.

The f. 1530: 9: 8 his [is] corrent mony⁵, and I shall Expect your remittance att 2½ and will discompt the Bill at 4 per cent, when shall advise whatt I Charge in your Corrent [current account] and whatt doe credit.

This being all att present remaining, Sir, Your very most Humble Servant, ABRAHAM BUENO HENRIQUES⁶

¹ The letter, being from a foreigner in English, is not always clear.

² See below.

³ Bowrey had probably, with his letter, sent some pepper for valuation.

⁴ This seems to mean that the writer would accept a bottomry bond in payment of the insurance premium. If the assumption is right, it predicates a very different procedure from that now current.

⁵ This sum refers to the total of the short account below.

⁶ Abraham Bueno Henriques, a Portuguese Jew, was a merchant of considerable standing at this period and had frequent dealings with the E.I. Co.

f 7350 att 20 per cent	f. 1470		
provizion $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, brokedge $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent	52.	2.	8
Police f. 1, to the Poor f. 7. 7	8	7	-
	<hr/>		
corrent money.	f 1530	9.	8 ¹

[Addressed] To Capt. Thomas Bowrey in Marine Square, London.

Paper 39.

[Extract from Thomas Bowrey's Private Account Book.]

29 Mar. 1706

By 5250 Guilders Insured on the *Rising Sun* and
2100 Guilders Insured on the *Mary Galley* all at
20 per Cent, from Port to Port in India and to
London with Charges is Guilders 1530: 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ is by
the Exchange

145. 8. 3

¹ For fuller details of this account see Paper 39 below.

CHAPTER II

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE OFFICERS OF THE *MARY GALLEY* IN HOME WATERS, 1704

SEVERAL letters, written in October 1704, have been preserved (see Papers 40 to 46 below). These show that Tolson left Gravesend about 16 October and was in the Downs by the 21st. He left the Downs on the 25th and was off Portsmouth on the 26th. He had a tussle with French privateers from Beachy Head to the Isle of Wight on the last of the above days (see his letter, p. 211, and Illustration, No. 10), and was at Spithead, between the Isle of Wight and the mainland, on the 27th. Finally, he left England on 31 October (see Paper 57 below) in company with the *Litchfield*, man-of-war, for the Cape Verde Islands direct. The above dates are of importance in considering his correspondence with Bowrey while in home waters.

The first letter is dated "Clafton [Clacton] in Essex," 19 October, and is from Bowrey to the ship, to Captain Tolson, Mr Dupuy the supercargo, and Mr Griffin the chief mate. It is addressed to "Mr. Joseph Dupuy, Merchant on board the *Mary Gally*" in the Downs, and most probably reached the addressee.

When writing this letter, Bowrey was in a bad temper, and used the plain language habitual in correspondence in his time in such circumstances. Grist the Purser had evidently remained behind in London when Tolson left Gravesend, and had had a row with Bowrey about allowances while on shore on arrival in the East, so Bowrey hoped "Mr. Grist will not reach you," and gives his views on that subject very plainly. In this hope he was disappointed. Bowrey's annoyance with Grist apparently made him angry over a very small matter in which Tolson was concerned, namely, about the price of "a whole Sheepe and a Shoulder of Veale at Gravesend," set down in his accounts "by Agreement with the

Butcher...as Beefe." He goes on to limit Tolson to "a Bowle of Punch of a Quart of Arrack [spirits] every day for himself and those at his Table."

On 20 October, Bowrey sent another letter to the ship (see Paper 41), addressed to Captain Joseph Tolson, which should have reached him, but apparently miscarried. It gave advice as to sailing the *Mary Galley*, a matter in which Bowrey was an expert.

On 21 October Tolson wrote from the Downs that "Wee are Saffe in this place," and he sent the letter by Mr Cull, the pilot, with whom he was well satisfied.

There are two other letters from Tolson, dated 26 and 27 October from Portsmouth and Spithead (the latter reproduced on p. 211), which are important. In these letters Tolson relates how, on leaving the Downs, he was chased by a ship and two snows, which he took to be French, though they showed Dutch colours. The chase commenced at daybreak, "5 Leagues to the Westward off Beachey Head"; but he outsailed them, and after they had fired on him they left him. Two hours later they came on him again about Dunnose Point, on the east coast of the Isle of Wight and tried to cut him off from Portsmouth at Bembridge Point on the Island. It then fell calm, and "I gott outt my owrs and Rowed, and when Shee [one of the snows] Came pretty nigh me, I Fired att her 3 Shott." She then "turned tale and Rowed away." So Tolson got safely into Spithead. Thus at the very commencement of his long voyage he had trouble with the French privateers, at that time very dangerous to English seamen, owing to the War, then proceeding, of the Spanish Succession, in which Britain and France were the chief opposing nations.

At any rate, Tolson became alarmed, for on finding a man-of-war, the *Litchfield*, a "Fourth Ratte," coming out of Portsmouth harbour, he secured her as a convoy and sailed in her company for the Cape Verde Islands.

On 28 October Bowrey wrote again to the ship from London (to which he had returned that day from Clacton), in reply to two letters sent by Tolson to Hammond, and he addressed his letter to Captain Tolson at Spithead. It is to

be presumed that Tolson got this letter before he left England. In it Bowrey acknowledged the report of "your escape from the French and of the [your] ships good sailing," but he says no more, evidently taking such matters as everyday affairs, and he approves of Tolson's going "in Company with the *Litchfeild* Man of War."

He then directs that Grist, the purser, be kept out of certain secret trade orders, which had been given to Joseph Dupuy and Richard Griffin at Gravesend on 16 October, and their receipts taken. What the reason was for these secret orders cannot now be ascertained, but they are very curious. The merchants were to receive Spanish rashes (piece-goods), hats, 855 ounces' weight of pieces of eight (dollars), 2½ gross of "hafted" and "gilded" knives, and some shawls, altogether worth £330. 15s. 11d. and sell them in Sumatra, Batavia, Bengal and the Coromandel Coast. The silver was to be paid over to Tolson for "a Bottle of the Wine belonging to the Cargo," which was to be bought from him, the transaction being recorded as a sale in some sham Dutch name. The proceeds of the sale of the rest of the goods were to be similarly credited to Tolson for another bottle of wine.

Paper 40.

[Letter from Bowrey to the *Mary Galley* in the Downs.]

Clifton [Clacton] in Essex, October the 19th 1704¹.

Captain Tolson, Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin. As far as I did observe or can be informed, the ship sailed and worked better coming down to Gravesend when she was upon an Even Keele then she did afterwards when brought by the Stern. Therefore tis my advise to try first at 4 Inches by the Stern, and from that to an Even Keele, and soe to 12 Inches by the Stern, in which Compass will undoubtedly be her Trim².

¹ In his letter of 12 December 1705 (see Paper 59), Tolson denies receiving the letter of this date.

² "4 Inches by the Stern." This appears to be a mistake in the MS for "4 Inches by the Stem." The current use of the word "Bows" to replace the older "Stem," in some senses, is possibly due to the ease with which the latter term may be confused, both in speaking and writing, with "Stern." For similar reasons the old term "Lairboard" was replaced by "Port" in order to avoid confusion with "Starboard."

As the *Mary Galley* sailed better on an even keel than when trimmed

I hope Mr. Grist will not reach you. If not, would have you sell all things he has aboard in India and put the produce thereof to the Ships Account.

I was telling you of Mr. Grist making a demand for an Allowance when ashore in India. I doe absolutly forbid the allowing him any thing or your Selves any such Expences on any account whatever, without a very good reason sett down in writing in your Journall for every days Expence, and in such Case not to allow above two Shillings a day, but hope you will wholly avoid all such Expences, for they will be a great prejudice to our small Stock.

Captain Tolson is obliged to find his Table with all things but the Common Provisiion of the Ship. In respect to which I must needs take notice of the taking a whole Sheepe and a Shoulder of Veale at Gravesend, and by Agreement with the Butcher sett it downe as Beefe, and that too with a great Deale of Ill husbandry in giving 3^d a Pound for a whole Sheepe, when could buy any Single Joint for 2¹/₂^d a *li*. I hope we shall have no more such doings of setting down one thing in the Name of another. It is not warrantable, and what I shall find out and will never allow¹.

I would have you Buy the Steward a Book for him to keep a Daily account of the Expence of all sort of Stores under his Charge and of all fresh Provisions received and how Expended, which account [I] would have brought in to you and Examined weekly, and signed by all in Comission as Supra Cargoes, which account [is] to be delivered to the Owners at your returne to England.

Captain Tolson has a verball leave to provide a Bowle of Punch of a Quart of Arrack every day for himself and those at his Table, which [I] would not have Exceeded, for if wee have not a great deale of good Husbandry (which hope every one of you will contribute too), wee can never propose to make a profitable Voyage with so small a Stock.

I hope this will find you so far as the Downs, where hope you will make no Stay, but proceed on your Voyage, with or without

down by the stern, Bowrey naturally desired that she should be tied when trimmed down by the head, in case this might result in a still greater improvement. This view is confirmed by Paper No. 45 in which Bowrey suggests "shifting her more by the Head or stern."

"In which Compass" means "within which limits."

I am indebted to Mr Laird Clowes for these explanations, the nautical notes in this chapter and the plan of the naval action, Illustration No. 10.

Bowrey means: "I shall find it out and will not allow it."

Convoy, according to your Instructions, and Pray God direct you and send you a good Voyage is the desires of Your affectionate Freind THOS. BOWREY.

I direct this to Mr. Dupuy and desire an Answer by the first Conveyance to Wellclose Square, and would have every one of you Copy this into your Book of Instructions.

To

Mr. Joseph Dupuy, Merchant on board the *Mary Gally*,
Capt Tolson, for East India. In the Downs; if gone, to be
returned to Mr. Elias Dupuy¹, Merchant In Mincing Lane.

Paper 41.

[Letter from Bowrey to the *Mary Galley* in the Downs.]

[Clacton] October 20th 1704.

Captain Tolson, Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin. I wrote you yesterday, which hope came to hand, directed to Mr. [Joseph] Dupuy. I then wrote you about the Ships trim for Sailing, since which, discoursing Mr. Charlton², it is his Opinion that the Ship Sailed and Worked much better coming down to Gravesend then she did afterwards, which he attributed to her being brought more by the Sterne and Staying the Mast too far forward after [she] came to Gravesend. Therefore tis my advice to bring the Ship to Swim on an Even Keele or an Inch or Two Inches by the Stern, and to Stay all the Masts to hang a little aft, whereas they all now hang forward³. All your safety depending on the Ships Sailing, hope you will neglect nothing relating thereto.

I am, Your affectionate Freind, THO: BOWREY

To Captain Joseph Tolson, Comander of the *Mary Gally*, in the Downs.

¹ Father of Joseph Dupuy.

² William Charlton, who had charge of Bowrey's yacht, the *Duck*. See *ante*, pp. 74, 84, 91.

³ That the ship was "brought more by the Sterne" and that the "Mast" was stayed "too far forward" were independent defects, each of which had to be remedied separately, for bringing the ship back to "an Even Keele" would result in making the masts hang further forward than they did originally. So, after the best trim for the ship had been obtained, the inclination of the masts was to be changed, by altering the wedges (see Paper 45) which surrounded the masts at the partners, so as to make them all "hang a little aft," and the masts were then to be stayed at this new rake.

Paper 42.

[Letter from Tolson to Bowrey from the Downs.]

Downs, October the 21 1704.

Capt. Bowry, this is to Satisfie you that Wee are Saffe in this place, and the bearer, Mr Cull, I am very well satisfi'd in For an able, Sober and Carfull pilett, as I have had a Fair apertunity to see, haveing had the winde Easterly most parte of the Way. Your Servant, JOS: TOLSON

[Addressed]: For Capt. Bowry.

Paper 43.

[Letter from Tolson at Portsmouth to Thomas Hammond.]

Portsmouth, October 26th 1704.

Sir, I sentt a Letter Yesterday¹ wherein I mentioned that I Intended to Saill in the affternoon From Spethead, but it proved Little wind, and I heard that the *Litchfeald*², a Fourth Ratte, was bound to the Westward. So I went on board her and the Comander told mec that hee must Saile to morrow³ [even] iff he turned [had to turn] all the way down the Chanall, and that

¹ Letter not now available.

² There is no log of the *Litchfield* extant, covering the dates of her voyage to Cape Verde Islands, but among the Admiralty Papers at the Public Record Office, there is a *Master's Log*, No. 217, entitled: "A Journall of Our Intended Voyag On Hir Majesties Shipp *Leachfield* Under the Command of Captain Ruport Billingsley In the Year of Our Lord 1704." It begins 14 January and ends 3 July 1704. There is also the beginning of another log (same reference) kept by the Master, John Dunn, in October 1704. This last contains an account of preparations for sailing, but breaks off on the 30th of the month, when the ship was under sail, with these words: "Discharged By reason I was not acquainted at [?] with] Cape de Varde Islands."

It will be observed that the Christian name of the captain of the *Litchfield* is given in the *Log* as "Ruport," but Tolson, in his letter of 12 December 1705 (Paper 59), describing the outward voyage, calls him Thomas Billingsley, probably owing to a lapse of memory.

The object of the *Litchfield's* voyage to the Cape Verde Islands has not been ascertained, but it appears to have had some connection with the war then in progress, for on 27 October 1704 the Secretary of the Admiralty Office wrote to the Secretary of the East India Company (*Miscellaneous Letters Received*, vol. 1, no. 35, India Office Ms. Records): "Several letters have been sent to the captain of the *Litchfield* to hasten him on the Service whereon he is going. He is to be supplied with provisions out of any ships in Portsmouth Harbour "

³ He did not, however, sail until 31 October. See Tolson's letter of 12 December 1705 from Calcutta (Paper 59).

hee was to goe to Cape de Vard [Verde] Islands, So that I thought, [for] the Saffty off going with him, [it] worth my while to Stay 1 day or 2, without your postive order to the Contrary. So that I Expect to Sail to morrow a Long with the *Litchffeald*, the Comander haveing promised me his utmostt Care in Convoing me Saffe to the Westward, and I shall take his Instruptions in writeing to Night. The winde is now att S E b S.

The Reason off my Coming in hear, I incerted in my Last, which was, that after haveing been Chaced by a Ship off I beleive aboutt 30 guns, whome I outt Sailed, all though She seemed very clean¹ and her Concorat a Snow² which was to windward. She Fired 3 Shott att mee, butt none off them hitt me; and after that I discovered 3 sail S.W. b S., 2 off which Stode to the Northward, in order, I thought, to Cutt me off to the Westward. I Stode with Dunoze [Dunnose] pointt till I see [that] the First 2 Spook [spoken] off boar S W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., and att the same time I See 2 Small Snows W.S.W. From mee, and then I Sprung my Loffe³ to go in to Spitthead. One off the Snowes was so Im[p]identt as to Rowe⁴ within a Mille off Benbridge [Bembridge] point, in order to Cutt me off. Butt after I fired att him, and I beleive hitt him, hee Rode as Fastt as he Could back again⁵.

I Finde my Ship to Sail So that I Fear none, iff I have butt Sea Rome. I Rowed her 2 Knotts in a calme, Soe that I hope my

¹ "Clean" here means well-proportioned, built on good—and fine—lines.

² At this period snows were the largest two-masted vessels in use among the nations of Western Europe. They were square-rigged on both masts, but in addition each carried a lateen sail on her main mast. In the early eighteenth century snows occupied very much the same place as was filled by brigs at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In 1704, brigantines were still very rare in northern waters and the contracted form brig had not yet acquired a special meaning. In the middle of the eighteenth century the gaff mainsail replaced the lateen mainsail and the brig (which had by that time developed from the brigantine by the addition of square top and topgallant sails to the main mast) became differentiated from the snow. The latter, because it carried a square main course, required a small taysail mast, stepped just aft of the mainsail, for the proper working of its gaff-mainsail. By the middle of the nineteenth century the term snow, although it figured, and still figures, in *Lloyds Register*, had gone out of general use, and many brigs were technically "snow-rigged."

³ "Sprung my Loffe [luff]" Brought my ship's head closer to the wind.

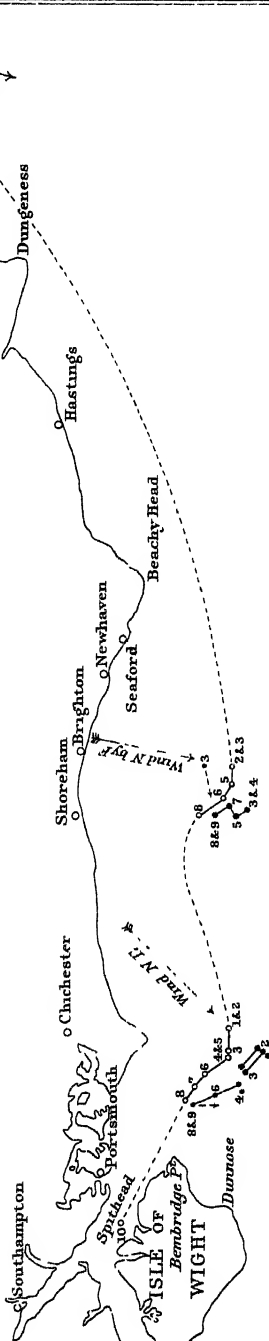
⁴ It is interesting to note that these snows were provided with oars. This passage emphasises the fact that merchant galleys were not peculiar in having oars, but only in having more oars than other small craft of the period.

⁵ For a fuller account of this incident in another letter from Tolson, see Paper 44.

Rough Chart of the Chase of the 'MARY GALLEY' by French Privateers, 26th October, 1704

Statute Miles
10 5 0 10 20 30 40

o = Mary Galley • = French ships • = French snobs



Second Encounter.

- 1 "Two hours after, the wind at N E"
- 2 "I discovered 3 Sails SW by S Southerly, 2 of which Stode to the Northward"
- 3 "I stode on my way till they bore SW by W"
- 4 "Then I discovered 2 Snowes W S W"
- 5 "So I sprung my Loffe and Stode in For this place" [Spurhead]
- 6 "One off the Snowes Rowed in with me, thinking to have Cut me off at Bembridge point, It falling Calme"
- 7 "I gott outt my oars and Rowed" [2 knots]
- 8 "When Shee Came pretty nigh me, I Fired at her 3 shot"
- 9 "Shee turned tale and Rowed away with all Expedition"
- 10 "I certified him [Thomas Hammond] off the Resson I putt into this place [Spurhead]"

First Encounter

- 1 25 Oct 1704, "at 5 in the Evening I sailed outt off the Downs with the Wind at N by E"
- 2 "Wee ware then about 5 Leagues to the Westward off Beachey head, and steering away West for Dunowz"
- 3 "Att break off day wee see 2 Sails, the one W S W, the [other] N" The last was a snow
- 4 "The Westernmost sprung his Loffe and stode shorte our For Foot"
- 5 "Then I bore away and hee tackled"
- 6 "Then I sprung my Loffe and found that I Could go so Fore to windward as to hee all most outt off gun shot"
- 7 "When hee Came upon my quarters hee tackled and Fired 2 shot"
- 8 "So hee gave us Chace and I Farly outt sailed her"
- 9 "In a Little time left his Chace, and his Concerte, which wee deserned to be a Snow, Bore down to hum, hee Leung by For hum"

owrs [oars]¹ will Stand me in good Stead, For I see the French make great use off their owrs

So I Restt all your humble Servants, JOS: TOLSON

[Addressed]: These For Mr. Thomas Hamon [Hammond], a Marchant, London, with care.

[Endorsed]: Portsmouth 1704, Joseph Tolson Oct. 26: Received 28: Answered do. and Copy of the Answer.

Paper 44.

[Letter from Tolson at Spithead to Bowrey.]²

Spithead, *Mary Gally*, October 27: 1704.

Sir, I have sentt 2 Letters [to] Mr. Hamon, suposing you not to be att home, wherin I sertified him off the Reasson I putt into this place which was as Followeth.

That in order to [carry out] my Instructions, on Monday att 5 in the Evening I sailed outt off the Downs with the winde att N. b Et., and att break off day wee see 2 Saill, the one W S.Wt., the [other] No. Wee ware then aboutt 5 Leagues to the Westward off Beachey head, and steering away West For Dunowz [Dunnose], the Southermost point off the Ile of wight³. The Westernmost [of the two sail] sprung his Loffe and stood shorte our Fore Foot⁴.

¹ The *Mary Galley* pulled eight oars (see Paper 20), probably with two men to each oar.

² This letter is reproduced on p 211

³ This is incorrect. The southeinmost point is St Catherine's Point. Dunnose Point is on the S.E. coast of the Isle of Wight near Bonchurch and Ventnor

⁴ Brought his ship's head as close as possible to the wind and stood on so as to cross the bows of the *Mary Galley*. Thus the two ships were approaching one another nearly bows on. In reading this passage it must be remembered that the square-rigged ships of the eighteenth century could not sail within less than six points of the wind, i.e. $67\frac{1}{2}$ degrees on each side. Consequently at any moment, while it was possible for a ship to sail in any direction over $\frac{1}{2}$ of the circle, there always remained $\frac{1}{2}$ of the circle to windward, which could not be approached directly. The "Westernmost" ship was to leeward of the *Mary Galley* when mutual discovery was made. She then got on the starboard tack as near the wind as possible, and stood on so as to cross the bows of the *Mary Galley*. The latter remained on the starboard tack, but when she bore away a little nearer the wind and towards the north, the supposed privateer got on to the port tack. The galley then "sprung" her "Loffe" and bore away still further towards the wind, and northward, while the enemy, having come up on her quarter, got again on to the starboard tack and fired two shot. At this moment the ships were on nearly parallel courses, with the enemy vessel rather behind and to leeward.

With both ships close hauled on the starboard tack, the *Mary Galley* outsailed the foreigner, who finally gave up the chase.

The whole narrative shows the difficulties which a square-rigged sailing

Then I bore away and hee tacked. Then I sprung my Loffe and Found that I Could go so Fore [far forward] to windward as to bee all most out off gun shott. When hee Came upon my quarters, hee tacked and Fired 2 Shott att me under dutch Colers¹, butt I did nott intend to trust him. So hee gave us Chace and I Farly out sailed her. Hee Seeing that, Fired 1 Shote att me, which Fell Close by our Side, and in a Little time Lefft his Chace; and his Concaite [consort], which wee deserned to be a Snow, Bore down to him, hee Lieing by For him. He apeare to be a ship off 30 guns and very Clean². Shee apeare to be French belt [built] to me, haveing no [quarter] galeries, only a badg³.

Two houres after I discovered 3 Saill S W. b So. Southerly, 2 off which Stode to the Northward, the winde att N.Et. I stode on my way till they bore S.W. b Wt., and then I discovered 2 Snowes W.S.Wt., so that I see itt [was] Impossable to Stand on and avoid Speeking with them. So I sprung my Loffe and Stode in For this place. One off the Snowes Rowed in with me, thinking to have Cutt me off att benbridge pointt. Itt Falling Calme, I gott outt my owrs and Rowed, and when Shee Came pretty nigh me, I Fired att her 3 Shott; and shee, Fearing wee should be to[o] hard For her, and her Concoits Cold nott gitt to her Releiffe, shee turned tale and Rowed away with all Expedission. We Rowed our Ship 2 knotts in a Calme⁴.

The *Litchfeald*, a 4 Rate, came Yesterday outt off the harbour and I heard that he was bound to the westward. So I went to the Comander and desired to have his Convoy. Hee told mee that hee Shold Saill this day in the Affternoon and that hee was bound For Capdevard Islands, and that hee would take all the Care hee Could off me to see me saffe outt off danger off these seas. So, Except your order to the Contrary, I intend to Imbrace the apertunity off his Convoy.

I have drawn a bill upon you For Five pounds by Captain Reed,

ship encountered when working to windward, and the virtual impossibility of bringing to action an unwilling vessel if she held the weather gage, *i.e.* lay to windward.

¹ There is no doubt that the ship and her consorts were French privateers showing Dutch colours.

² See note 1 on p. 208.

³ "Badge, in shipbuilding, a sort of ornament, placed on the outside of small ships, very near the stern [on the quarter], containing either a window for the convenience of the cabin, or the representation of it: it is commonly decorated with marine figures, martial instruments, or such like emblems" (Falconer, 1769).

⁴ It will be remembered that the *Mary Galley* carried eight large oars. See *ante*, Paper 20.

Comander off the *Colchister*¹, East India marchant Ship, which is all att Present From your Humble Servant, JOS· TOLSON

I hired a deall boatt² the day I came From the downs to Fill my Water. My puttick plates³; some gave way, So that I have made new ones at this place.

[Addressed]: For Captain Thomas Bowrey, Liveing in Well Close Square, London.

Paper 45.

[Letters from Bowrey to the *Mary Galley* at Spithead.]

London October the 28th 1704.

Capt. Tolson, Mr. Dupuy and Mr Griffin. Sirs, Captain Tolsons of the 26th Instant to Mr. Hammond is received, by which I am Informed of your escape from the French and of the ships good sailing, both which is very acceptable News and doe very well approve of your staying to goe in Company with the *Litchfeild* man of Warr. God send you a safe passage and would have you try (when have opportunity) the ships sailing by staying her Masts aft, Looseing the wedges⁴, shifting her more by the Head or Stern⁵ &ca., as your discretion will direct you.

I desire M^r. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin to be very secret with what they are particularly trusted with and not to discover it to any one in the ship or any other Person in India or Elsewhere⁶.

As Mr. Grist is excluded the Comission, so he is not to be privie to any of your Orders nor to sign any Letters you send us, which is to be signed by all three of you and which you are to direct as ordred in your Instructions, and would have you write us by the *Litchfeild*, when [you] part from her, all proper about the ships sailing, on which depends our greatest safety.

¹ Captain Alexander Reid commanded the *Colchester*, which arrived at Falmouth from India on 12 October 1704 and was then at Spithead (see *Miscellanies*, India Office MS. Records, vol. A, pp. 303, 306).

² "A deall boatt" means "a boat belonging to Deal."

³ "Puttick" (a corruption of futtock) or foot-hook plates. Compare Falconer, 1769. "The lower dead-eye [of the topmast-shrouds] is fitted with an iron band, called the foot-hook-plate, which passes thro' a hole in the edge of the top, and communicates with a rope called the foot-hook shroud, whose lower end is attached to the shrouds of the lower mast."

⁴ These "wedges" were placed between the mast and the partners (see note 1 on p. 133) on the gun deck. Consequently, by varying the positions of the wedges, the inclination of the mast could be altered, within limits, without interfering with the step on the keelson, which held its lower end. See also note 9 on p. 131.

⁵ See note 2 on p. 204.

⁶ See below, Paper 46.

I came to Town today and Mr. Hammond Just gone out of Town, so did not see him nor any other of the Concerned. I wish you a good Voyage and all of you a safe returne to Your affectionate Freind, T. B.

My Love to my Cozen Toms. Studds. I received his Letter.

To Captain Jos. Tolson comander of the *Mary Gally* at Spit-head. If gone, to be returned to Mrs. Gardiner in Well Close Square, London.

Paper 46.

[Secret Trade Orders to Messrs Dupuy and Griffin.]

Laden on board the *Mary Gally* and Delivered to Mr. Joseph Dupuy and Mr. Richard Griffin, as vizt.

	£	s.	d.
1 Pack qt. [containing] 6 half pieces of Spanish Rashes ¹ value	25	13	—
1 Box qt. 12 Hatts at 7s od.	£4	4	0
21 Do. at 4 6	4	14	6
Box		3	0
	9	1	6
855 Ounces ps. $\frac{3}{4}$ [pieces of eight, dollars] at 5s. 11d per Oz.	253	1	5
4 Small boxes qt [containing] 1 Groce large hafted gilded knives, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Groce Do. small	34	0	0
1 Pack qt 9 shauls at 20s	9	0	0
	330	15	11

At the first port you come to in India, you must buy of Captain Tolson a Bottle of the Wine belonging to the Cargo, for which you must give him all the 855 Ounces 8 pen: [*sic*]² of Dollers above said, paying them by Tale and Weight and See that the Cargo have Credit for so much under some feigned Dutch Mans Name.

When Sold any of the Rashes, hatts, knives or shauls above said, you are to pay all the produce thereof to Captain Tolson for a bottle of Wine &ca. as above said.

The Spanish Rashes, Hatts and knives may Sell at the West Coast of Sumatra or Batavia for what you can get; the Shauls are for Sale in Bengal or the Coast of Choromandell.

¹ See note 4 on Paper 12, p. 157.

² "8 pen:" = 8 dwt, which makes the total given about right.

[Receipt.]

Received all the above mentioned things the 16th day October 1704¹ and promise to follow the Orders Obove [*sic*] mentioned for them. JOSEPH DUPUY; RICHARD GRIFFIN

[Endorsed]: Mr. Joseph Dupuy and Mr. Richard Griffin, their Receipt for ps. $\frac{8}{8}$ &ca.

Letters sent to Captain Tolson in Home Waters that did not reach him

Besides the above correspondence, there have been preserved two more letters from Bowrey to the ship that were sent too late to reach her, but as they are illuminating documents on seventeenth and early eighteenth century methods of trading to the East, they are here published.

The first of these letters is dated London, 4 November 1704, and is to the ship, addressed to Tolson "In Plimouth," with a "Copy to Falmouth." It shows that Bowrey was in great fear of his correspondence being intercepted by the East India Company, since the *Mary Galley* was a separate stock ship.

The second letter is dated London, 7 November, and is also to the ship, addressed to "Capt. Jos. Tolson" with "2 Copies, one to Plimouth (returned), and one to Falmouth under Cover to Mr. Hammonds Frcinds." It confirms Bowrey's fears about opposition from the East India Company: "Had you staid longer at Spithead there was Orders from the East India Company to search your Ship."

Paper 47.

[Letter from Bowrey to the *Mary Galley* at Plymouth or Falmouth.]

London, November 4: 1704.

Capt. J. Tolson, Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin. Sirs, I received Captian Tolsons of the 30th past², when under sail from Spithead.

¹ This statement proves that these things were handed over to Dupuy and Griffin at Gravesend where the *Mary Galley* was lying at anchor on 16 October 1704 and that the secret orders regarding them were given on that day.

² Not now available.

Wee having had the Winds Westerly, doubt you have bin obliged to putt into Port. I wrote you to the Downs directed to Mr. Dupuy and to Portsmouth directed to Captain Tolson, which know not if you received Therefore please to advise per next if you received those Letters and give a full account of your Ships Sailing with the Men of War you went out with, who sailed best, and what difference, &ca.¹

What is intrusted in particular to the two persons you know of, I desire them to keep as a great Secret, not letting any one in the Ship, or in India, or Elcewhere know any thing of it². I am in doubt of Letters being Intercepted by the East India Company, therefore both you and wee must be very cautious of what we write. The two Letters I sent you were directed to be returned if you were gone. Therefore, if you have not received them they are Intercepted; but therein is nothing to our prejudice³.

I hope you will lose no oportunity of Sailing, for it will grow late for your reaching the West Coast in due time, so hope you will not touch any where till reach the West Coast⁴.

I am, Your affectionate Friend, T: B.

My Love to my Cozen Toms. Studs.

To Captain Joseph Tolson Comander of the *Mary Gally*, In Plimouth. If gone, to be returned to Mrs. Gardiner In Well Close Square, London.

Sent a Copy to Falmouth.

Paper 48.

[Letter from Bowrey to the *Mary Galley* at Plymouth or Falmouth.]

London the 7th November 1704.

Captain Jos. Tolson, Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin. Sirs, Fearing you may be put into Port, this serves to advise you that wee are informed that had you staid longer at Spithead there was Orders from the East India Company to search your Ship. Therefore, if this finds you in Port, wee advise you to sett Sail with the

¹ Some of the information asked for here is in Tolson's first letter on his voyage out, from the Cape of Good Hope (see Paper 57).

² This is an allusion to the Secret Trade Orders in Paper 46.

³ These last paragraphs show that, though the trade to India by separate stock ships was nominally open at this period, yet it was looked upon with suspicion by the East India Company, which lost no opportunity of obstructing those whom they regarded as interlopers.

⁴ By "West Coast" Bowrey means Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra.

first opportunity of Wind, either with Convoy or without, least any such Orders may reach where you are, and that you may be stoped on any Vexatious pretence of said Company.

Wee desire you to give us a particular account of the Ships sailing with the Men of Warr you Sailed with &ca.¹, and hope you will use all endeavours to find her Trim², thereon depending the greatest of our Safety. As it now grows late for your reaching the West Coast in due time, so hope you will touch no where till you reach said Coast

What is particularly intrusted to Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin³ wee would have them keep a great Secret and to doe what relates thereto at the West Coast or Batavia among the Dutch or Chineses, at any rate as well as they can, and not to lett any English at any Place in India know any thing of that Concern, nor none of the Ships Company, if possible to be prevented [and order all your Ships Company not to discourse with any English or others in India any thing relating to your Cargoe out or home]⁴

Wee would have Mr. Grist admitted to act in relation to the Cargoe, telling him we doubted of his going in the ship when at Gravesend and for that reason gave the Instructions to Mr. Griffin, but hope his future diligence will make amends for his Neglect here⁵; for as hee is concerned with us⁶, wee have reason to hope that his owne Interest and future Preferment will be an obligation to his Industry and secresy in all our Affairs Shew him this Letter and all elce relating to our affairs.

Soe wishing you a good Voyage and safe returne &c., Your affectionate Freind, T. B.

Capt. Jos Tolson: Sent 2 Copies one to Plimouth (returned) and one to Falmouth under Cover to Mr. Hammonds Friends⁷.

¹ From Tolson's letter from the Cape (Paper 57), he appears to have had no vessels in his company to Cape Verde Islands, except the *Litchfield*, which proved of little service as a convoy.

² See note 2 on p. 204.

³ See Paper 46, Secret Trade Orders.

⁴ The portion in brackets is scored through in the ms.

⁵ See *ante*, p. 202

⁶ Grist's share in the *Mary Galley* was a twenty-fourth part. See *ante*, p. 139

⁷ The postage of these two letters and the previous one was one shilling, for, in an account between Bowrey and Hammond from 29 June 1704 to 17 March 1705, we find an entry: "Paid post 2 double letters to Falmouth and Plymouth 1s" The postage of three other letters, which Hammond also paid, was twopence per letter.

Instructions to Captain Tolson as to his Procedure in the East

In addition to the foregoing, there is in existence a third letter to the ship, of a different category, dated London, 16 November, addressed to "Captain Joseph Tolson, Comander of the *Mary Galley* In East India." This letter reached him in Calcutta on his arrival because, in ignorance of its contents, he went to Calcutta *via* Batavia. It is signed by Elias Dupuy, George Jackson and Thomas Hammond, as well as by Bowrey, showing that it was looked upon as an important document.

The first three paragraphs repeat Bowrey's apprehensions of interference from the East India Company and contain directions for guarding against obstructions by its agents in India. In view of such suspicions, Bowrey's reason for being sure that this letter would reach Tolson safely is obscure.

The document contains fully detailed instructions. The ship is to go first to Bengal (Calcutta) on the N.E. Indian coast, and then to sail for the Maldiv Islands, S.W. of India, by 10 October 1705, and she is to leave the Maldives for Batavia by 11 January 1706. Then follow very elaborate directions as to the methods of trading to be followed. From Batavia, at the end of March 1706, Tolson was to proceed to Gombroon [Bandar 'Abbās] in the Persian Gulf, and Muskat. This order is followed by more details as to trade, and then, "It will be in your way to stop on the West Coast [of Sumatra], or at Mallaca [in the Malay Peninsula]."

These instructions supersede those previously given to Tolson in England, which are: "You are ordered in your [previous] Instructions [not now forthcoming], that if you cannot depart Batavia by the 15th of April, 1706, that then you should goe in search of the Tryall Rocks [N.W. Australia], which wee hereby forbid you to doe." Instead, he is to go to Gombroon as above noted.

The letter then harks back to the Secret Trade Instructions already alluded to several times, and there is a return to the

exhortation to be "very frugall." Lastly, there is another reference to Grist and his misconduct in England.

In a postscript, Tolson is given "positive Orders that you doe not stay at any Port in India longer then the first day of February 1705/6 on any account whatever." In a second postscript, Bowrey, who had great personal knowledge of the subject, adds some sailing directions for the Malay Archipelago.

However, by the time that Tolson received this letter in Calcutta, he had acted on his own responsibility and had gone his way quite independently from the path laid down for him.

Paper 49.

[Letter from the Owners to the *Mary Galley* in East India.]

London the 16th November 1704

Captain Joseph Tolson, Mr. Elias Dupuy and Mr. Richard Griffin. Sirs, Wee wrote you of the 19th October to the Downs¹ and Spithead, of which you did not advise the receipt in yours of the 30th October from Spithead², so are doubtfull [afraid] they were intercepted. Therefore you must be very Cautious of what you write us and who you send Letteis by.

Wee are informed there was Orders from the East India Company to Seize your Ship had you staid at Spithead. Wee know not what reason they had for it, but least they should send such Orders to India, we Order you not to come under Comand of any of their Forts³ in India and keep as much as may be from under Comand of their Ships, and never to suffer above 4 or 5 of their Men to come aboard at a time, and that either Captain Tolson or Mr. Griffin be one of them on board the ship dureing the whole Voyage.

When you come first to Fort St. David [Vizagapatam] and Fort St. George [Madras], before you go ashoare, be well informed if any Ship is arrived there who came out of England after you; and if soe, then wee would not have Captain Tolson goe ashoare, but send Mr. Dupuy alone ashoare with the Letters and Presents for the Governours, as directed in your Instructions, and also the

¹ See Paper 40.

² Not now available.

³ "Under Comand of any of their Forts" here means where you may be commanded by the guns of any of their forts, etc. Tolson is instructed not to take his ship under the guns of either the forts or ships of the East India Company.

Company's Certificate to shew the Governours, and excusing the Captain to them by saying he is not well in health so cannot come ashore being to depart suddenly. When Mr Dupuy is ashore he may negotiate your affairs as directed in your Instructions. Salute the Forts. Wee would have you Anchor $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile or more to the Southward of Fort St. George and of all Ships in the Road.

In your Instructions¹ you are ordered to Buy 70 Tonns of Saltpetre, Dry Ginger and Turmerick. Now we thinke fitt to order you to Buy only 50 Tonns of Those Goods, that is, 30 Tonns of Saltpetre and 20 Tonns of Turmerick and Dry Ginger. In Buying of those Goods observe the Rules and times limited in your Instructions, lading the Ship as deep as she will Swim with Rice &ca. for Maldiva². And be sure to depart Bangal by 10th of October 1705 for Maldiva, and to depart Maldiva by the 11th of January 1705/6 for the West Coast and Batavia for sale of your Opium as per your Instructions.

When arrived at Batavia, if the produce of your Opium, together with the Value of all other Goods you have aboard does not amount to the Value of Threc Thousand Pounds Sterling (the Goods aboard being Valued at Prime Cost in India), then in such Case we would have you hire a Warehouse ashore at Batavia, if the Dutch will permitt you to land your Goods, But if they will not, then Hire a Junck or Sloop³ capable to take in what Saltpetre, Cowries⁴, Turmerick or Dry Ginger you then have aboard, and Leave Mr. Dungey⁵ and 2 or 3 of your Men in Charge of said Goods to ly there till your Returne.

Then Invest all the Money you have in Sugar, Pepper, Benjamin⁶, Coffe Cups and small Basons (not very fine), Copper and Tootenag⁷, so much as possible the Ship can carry, taking care

¹ The "Instructions" referred to are the original Instructions, of which no trace has been found.

² The object of visiting the Maldive Islands was, as appears below, to obtain cowries.

³ "A Junk or Sloop" here means no more than the local form of lighter. In the East Indian trade at that time "junk" did not necessarily imply a Chinese vessel, nor "sloop" a European vessel.

⁴ Bowrey had already traded in cowries during his long sojourn in India and knew how they were sold and when they were likely to fluctuate in value. See *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, ed. Temple, pp. 200, 218, 219.

⁵ George Dungey, second mate.

⁶ "Benjamin," benzoin. In his *Malay Dict.* Bowrey defines "Benjamin" as "a sweet gum from India" and he mentions the west coast of Achin (Sumatra) as providing "Store of very excellent Benjamin" (*Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, p. 292). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Benjamin.

⁷ "Tootenag," *tutenaga*, spelter. In his *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* Bowrey spells this word (pp. 199, 291) "Tootanagga" and "Totanagga."

so to proportion your Investment as to fully Lade the Ship, and also to lay out all your Money, which may be done by Buying more or Less of Sugar which is Cheape, or of Copper which is Deare.

Note. Sugar and Pepper is the most Staple and profitable Comodities from Batavia for Persia. If Sugar is not to be had at Batavia and you want above 20 Tonns of your Lading, then buy all the other Goods, only reserving so much Money as will purchase the remaining part of the Ships Lading of Sugar, and with that Money goe to Japarra¹ there to buy Sugar.

When your Lading is compleated as aforesaid, which we hope may be accomplished by the end of March 1706, or so soon after as possible, then we would have you proceed for Gombroon² in Persia, there to sell said Cargoe as the Markett will afford, taking Spanish Dollers, or for the want of them take Abasses, but not Mamoodees³, nor any sort of Gold, and dispatch from thence for Muscat (there to lye out in the Road), and to Invest all your Money in Coffe, if can have it not exceeding the value of £4 per 112 *li*. But if [it] exceeds that Price, then Buy none.

Note that Coffe, if New and good, is of a Light Greenish Colour, the darker Coloured the worse; to have no ill Scent⁴. If it be black, is good for nothing.

[Note in the margin.] (Not to put your Goods in the English Factory at Persia least they demand Consulage [port duties] or lay a Stop thereon. Not to have above $\frac{1}{2}$ the value of the Cargoe [a]shoare at once. 1 Mamoodec at Muscat is 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. Sterling: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ Maunds Muscat is 112 *li*.)⁵

From Muscat dispatch for Batavia, there to take in all the Goods left there, and if have any Money, to Invest it in goods for England, as directed in your Instructions, which from thence forward you are to observe as if had not gone to Persia.

If you bring Money from Muscat, it will be in your way to stop on the West Coast [Sumatra] or at Mallaca, where, if can gett Pepper or Benjamin, may take in so much as will compleat the Ships Tonnage with what left at Batavia.

¹ Japara, on the north of Java.

² The old name for Bandar 'Abbās in the Persian Gulf, where the East India Co. had a factory.

³ "Abasses" and "Mamoodces," *abāsī* and *mahmūdī*, Persian coins, the former taking its name from Shah 'Abbās II. Their value varied round about a shilling. See below for a *mahmūdī* of Muskat

⁴ Compare Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 1813, I, 106. "Coffee... should be chosen of a greenish olive hue, fresh and new, free from any musty smell...."

⁵ This calculation makes the maund (*man*) of Muskat about 8 lb. 4 oz. Milburn, *op. cit* I, 116, gives it as "8 lb. 12 oz. avoirdupois."

Wee would have you advise with any Suratt Moor [Muhammadan] Merchants who you find at Batavia what sorts of China-ware to carry for Persia Also gett advice there if Dates, Rasins or Rosewater be profitable to bring from Persia thither, and what Quantit[ies] of each sort will sell, with the Price at Batavia.

You are ordered in your Instructions that if you cannot depart Batavia by the 15th of Aprill 1706, that then you should goe in search of the Tryall Rocks¹, which wee hereby forbid you to doe. And if you cannot dispatch from Batavia by the 15th March 1705/6 that then you leave your Saltpetre, Cowries, &ca. at Batavia and make a Voyage to Persia as before directed, although you then have about £3000 sterling value in Money and Goods as aforesaid.

What is Intrusted in particular to the two Persons you know of², desire them to keep a great Secret, not letting any one in the Ship or in India or Elcewhere know any thing of it, and [we] would have them doe it, if possible, at the West Coast or Batavia, but not at any English Factory, or that any English may have knowledg thereof. And [we] would not have them proceed in the Method proposed to them, but would have you Borrow what Money you can of them at Bottomree for the Ships account, giving 30 Per Cent thereon at the Ships arrivall in England. And give them a writing to that effect in some Dutch Merchants name as if borrowed of him, which Money so borrowed, give the Ships account (and not the Cargoe) Credit for. And lett all the Ships or other Expences be defrayed out of that Money. And what is not expended you may Employ in Trade both in India and when bound for England, keeping a separte account thereof, and marking all such Goods M³.

Wee have allowed Captain Tolson £30 for his Table during the whole Voyage, which is for all fresh Provisions, &ca., and doe also allow one Quart of Arrack [spirits] made in Punch every day for the Captains Table, and no more. So hope we shall find no other expences more then the Ships comon Provisions, of which wee would have an exact account kept what expended every day

¹ Tryal Rocks, north of Barrow Island, in 20° 33' S Lat. and 115° 24' E Long., off the north coast of Western Australia Bowrey had doubtless heard of these rocks from his friend Dampier, who had visited the shores of Western Australia in 1688 and again in 1699, when he had explored the coast from Shark's Bay to the islands called after him, Dampier Archipelago.

² Joseph Dupuy and Richard Griffin See Paper 46.

³ These instructions differ widely from those in Paper 46, where Dupuy and Griffin are ordered to hand over dollars to Tolson in exchange for a bottle of wine from the ship's cargo and to credit the cargo with the same.

by the steward, and a particular account of Expences to be examined and signed by you all three weekly, in which Expences we hope you will be very frugall, for thereon depends much of the profit of our Voyage. As to Expences for any one being ashore on our buisness, wee hope you will avoid all you can, but when [there is] a necessity thereof, not to allow above two shillings a day¹.

Wee would have Mr. Grist admitted to act in relation to the Cargoe, telling him we doubted of his going in the Ship when at Gravesend, and for that reason gave the Instructions to Mr. Griffin, but hoping his future dilligence will make amends for his Neglect here, for as he is Concerned with us, we have reason to hope that his owne Interest and future Preferment will be an Obligation to his Industry and Secrecy in all our affairs. Shew him this Paragraph only of this Letter, keeping the rest secret to your selves².

Soe wishing you a good Voyage and safe returne to Your affectionate Freinds,

THOS. BOWREY
ELIAS DUPUY
GEO. JACKSON
THOS. HAMMOND

If you cannot have a Trade at Maldiva, then stand from thence directly to the Northward, as the N.E. winds will permitt you, for Muscatt, there to sell all Rice, Butter, Oil or what elce you have proper for Sale there, for which take Coffe, and from thence dispatch for the West Coast or Batavia for sale of your Opium as directed in your Instructions.

It is our positive Orders that you doe not stay at any Port in India longer then the first day of February 1705/6 on any account whatever.

Instructions for Navigation.

If bound from Batavia to Persia in March, Aprill, May or June, then stand out of the Straits of Sunda, but if from Japparra [Japara], then if in March, or sooner, may goe thro the Straits of Bally [Bali] and gett into 12ds. [degrees] South Lattitude so soon as you

¹ This is the point about which Bowrey was angry with Grist in one of his previous letters (see Paper 40). He now evidently sees the reasonableness of Grist's request for an allowance of two shillings a day to all officers while on shore in the East, on the business of the *Mary Galley*.

² This paragraph does not show Bowrey and his friends in a favourable light. They have got over their wrath with Grist and are now restoring him to his proper position in an ungracious manner.

can. Then stand to the Westward in that Latitude till you bring the Chagoes [Chagos] to beare N.W. or N.W. b N Then stand to the Northward to goe a little to the Eastward of the Chagoes, keeping very good looking out and lying By a Nights. When neare the Latitude of the Chagoes and when to the Northward of them, then stand away W N.W. or N.W. as the winds will permitt, crossing the Line, and soe keeping as far Westerly as you can to fall in with the Coast of Arabia about 100 or 150 Leagues to the Westward of Cape Rosselgat [Ras-el-Had]. When made the Land, Coast it along, taking great care to give a good birth to some Shoals which lyes a good distance ofe Shoare about the Iland Massira [Masirah] When past them, hall in for Cape Rassolgat and soe up the Gulfe, keeping the Arabian Shoare aboard¹ till up with Cape Musledon [Ras Masandam]. In going up or down the Gulfe suffer no Ship to come near you, for the Muscat Men of Warr [pirates] are sometimes troublesome.

If depart Muscat in June, July, August or September, and bound to Batavia, then stand thro the 8d[egree] Channell [Maldives] for Ceylon, and from thence, if in July or August, stand for the Channell between the Nicobar Islands and the Head of Achein [Achın], so thro the Straits of Mallaca and Darion² and to Batavia. But if make Ceylon any time after the end of August, then stand away for the West Coast of Sumatra to make the Ilands of Padang and from thence along shoare for Batavia.

I recomend my Cozen Thomas Studds to all your Cares and to Mr. Dungey as his Mathematicall Master³, and desire he may goe ashoare at all Places in India with the Captain or any other of you when goe on any buisness, and that he be Privie to all Bargains and Concerns of the Ship or Cargoe, thereby to Informe him of the method of Trade, all which will oblige Your Loving Freind, THOS. BOWREY

[Addressed]: To Captain Joseph Tolson, Comander of the *Mary Gally*, In East India.

¹ "Aboard" here means "close on the beam," i.e. he was to sail parallel to the Arabian coast, at no great distance.

² By "Darion" Bowrey seems to mean Gaspar Strait between Billiton and Banka Islands. The name "Darion" does not appear on modern maps.

³ Bowrey had already paid a master to instruct Thomas Studds in "Navigation and Arithmetick" (see Paper 36).

Letters sent to India by Thomas Bowrey in
the *Mary Galley*

Bowrey must have entrusted a number of letters to Tolson for delivery to various friends and acquaintances in India, and others whom he thought might help him in his venture with the *Mary Galley*, for we have copies of seven such letters preserved, without addresses. They were written probably, as the names occurred to him, in September and October 1704, while the ship was being prepared for her voyage and while she was in home waters, and they are dated from before 15 September to 13 October.

Beyond recommendations of Captain Tolson and the *Mary Galley* to the attention of his correspondents, there is not much of general interest in these letters, excepting an abstract of public news, regarding events in Europe in the summer of 1704. These were exciting enough, for it was the time of Marlborough's victory over the French at Blenheim and the taking of Gibraltar by the English. The letters, omitting repetitions, are given below, as specimens of correspondence with India at that time.

The personages addressed are of some interest, and four of them were personal friends of Bowrey in India.

Philadelphia Sherer, whom he had known as Philadelphia Lesly, a widow with three children, was the sister of his friend and business associate, Captain Robert Masfen, free mariner. After Bowrey left India Mrs Lesly married Charles Sherer, a merchant and free mariner, residing principally at Fort St George, Madras. Bowrey had shown much kindness to Mrs Lesly during her widowhood, and he continued to exercise a friendly supervision over her sons when they were sent to England and placed under the care of their grandmother. In 1699 the lads returned to their mother and stepfather, their uncle, Robert Masfen, having died in 1698. The elder, Robert, was apprenticed to Captain Henry Harnett, Master Attendant at Calcutta, whither the Sherers had removed. His conduct as an apprentice was exemplary and his letters to Bowrey models of stilted penmanship. Later, he

fell among bad company and embezzled money entrusted to him for trade, in order to pay his gambling debts at Malacca. In 1704 he was sick at Quedah, where he was repenting of his folly, and it is doubtful if Bowrey's letter ever reached him. Bowrey was equally unfortunate with the letters addressed to Mr and Mrs Sherer. The former crossed one from Charles Sherer, announcing his impending departure from Calcutta for England, leaving his wife in India. She died at Calcutta just before the *Mary Galley* arrived. There is no subsequent news of the family among the Bowrey papers, but there are letters from Robert Masfen, Charles and Philadelphia Sherer and Robert Lesly prior to 1705, which are of considerable interest.

John Affleck, an old friend of Bowrey, was a "Free Merchant Inhabitant" of Fort St George and had married a "Casteez" or Portuguese half-caste. He was a man of importance, a shipowner and a Lieutenant of the Company's Trained Band in 1696. There is no mention of him in the Lists of Inhabitants at Fort St George later than 1704, and it is probable that he was dead before the *Mary Galley* touched at Madras, after leaving Batavia, on her return to Calcutta in 1706.

Bowrey's three other correspondents all held official posts under the East India Company.

John Beard, President of Bengal, 1701-5, was a junior on the Establishment when Bowrey met him in India. He left Calcutta in 1705, on account of his health, and died at St Thomas's Mount, near Madras, on 15 July. So he also failed to receive the letter addressed to him.

Gabriel Roberts, a nephew of Sir Thomas Dashwood, went to India as Governor of the Company's Factory at Fort St David, Vizagapatam, and Second of Council in Madras, in 1702. It is clear, from the letter, that he and Bowrey were acquainted, but there is no evidence among the papers as regards their intercourse.

Thomas Pitt, the celebrated President and Governor of Fort St George, Madras, 1698-1709, was the only one of the seven correspondents personally unknown to Bowrey. Since

the *Mary Galley* only touched at Fort St George in 1706, it is doubtful whether Tolson had the opportunity of delivering the letter. At any rate, there is no record of a reply.

In Bowrey's private account book, under expenses incurred for the *Mary Galley*, her launching, etc., there are entries of expenses for "Presents," presumably for his friends in India. They are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
56 Qts. Black cherry brandy	4	15	4
70 „ Currant Wine	4	4	6
5 Gallons "Surreys Gilliflowers"	4	2	0
- Quarts Rasberry Brandy		13	0

Paper 50.

[Thomas Bowrey to Mrs Sherer.]

London, September the [blank] 1704.

Madam Sherer: This comes by the *Mary Gally*.... Your advises ...¹ shall be acknowledged in due time.

I advised your Mother [Mrs Masfen] of this ships coming to Bangal by whome you have Letters, so forbear writing any thing relating to her.

I wrote to you by the *R[ising] S[un]*²...

Mine and Wives service to your self, Mr. Sherer and your son Robert Lessly, &ca. is what offers from

Madam Your Humble Servant, T. B.

I write to Mr. Sherer and Mr. Robert Lessly.

Paper 51.

[Thomas Bowrey to Mr Charles Sherer.]

London, September the 13th 1704.

Mr. Charles Sherer: Sir, This comes by the *Mary Gally*....³ Your advises or other favours to the Captain of said ship in his Buying, selling, &ca. will be a great favour to me and shall be acknowledged in due time⁴.

¹ The portions omitted are repeated in the letter to Robert Lesly.

² See note 1 on p. 199

³ The portion omitted is repeated in the following letter.

⁴ The following remarks regarding the ill-fated *Worcester* are scored through: "Here is arrived this season the *Worcester*, in whome I was Cheifly concerned, in whose voiage we suffer much by the Impudence of Mr. Callant, the Supra Cargo, who had oppertunity of making us a very great voiage had he pursued his Instructions. As it is we shall cleare about [blank] per Cent profit He is dead, so Captain Mathews [?] in the *London* will cleare about [blank] profit."

As to Publick News. The Cheif actions this sumer has bin in Bavaria where the Duke of Malborough marched to the assistance of the Emperor with about 45,000 English and other Nations in the English Pay, and has in Conjunction with the German Army gained two signall Victorys over the French and Bavarians. In the first the Enemy were beat from strong entrenchments and lost about [blank] men killed and [blank] taken prisoners, among which Marshal Tallard, a General, 16 other General Officers, 1200 In[fantry] Officers and [blank] soldiers and the whole Country of Bavaria reduced to the Emperors obedience.

In Savoy the French have taken one Considerable town¹.

By Sea the French are not able to meet us with a Grand Fleet so endeavours cheifly to Protect the Trade of the Spanish West Indies and to destroy the Merchant Shipping English [and Dutch, which is too often effected, more thro our own negligence then their own power]².

If you please to favour me with any thing materiall of the Transactions of any part of India, it will be very acceptable³. This with mine and Wives service to your selfe and Lady, I conclude, and am Your Humble Servant, [T. B.].

Paper 52.

[Thomas Bowrey to Robert Lesly.]

London, Oct. the 13: 1704.

Mr. Robert Lessly: This comes by the *Mary Gally*, Joseph Tolson Captain and Supra Cargoe. She is a Seperate Stock Ship and so is Intituled to the Protection of the united Company in all Priviledges they enjoy in India⁴, in which ship I am concerned. Any Assistance or kindness you shall doe for said ship will be taken as done for me.

I wrote you by the *Ri[sing] Sun*, Captain T. Wyb[ergh], desiring your assistance to him. I hope he has bin in Bangal⁵. I forbear mentioning any thing of your relations here, I having delivered to Captain Tolson Letters from your Grandmother

¹ For fuller details of these events see Paper 56b.

² The words within square brackets are scored through in the MS

³ Bowrey had already written a somewhat similar letter to Sherer by the *Duchess* and *Tavistock* in 1703 to which Sherer replied from Calcutta in Jan. 1704/5. He stated that he intended to sail for England on the *Scipio*, which should arrive before the end of that year.

⁴ See note 2 on p. 142.

⁵ See note 1 on p. 199.

[Mrs Masfen] and Aunt. I doubt not but you received the Books I sent you and hope by this time you are in a good way of getting a Living, for the Lear[n]ing and Ingenuity you are endowed with (provided you lead a Godly and vertuous life) can scarce fail of raising your fortunes in India¹.

If you have bin at Maldiva, I desire you to informe Captain Tolson of the Navigation thither and the Method of Trade there, the us[u]all Price of Cowries for Rice, what sort of Rice or other goods proper to carry thither and any other matters usefull to him. Or if you have not bin there, that you would make such enquirys of any English or Moors [Muhammadans] who have bin there and inform Captain Tolson, and to procure him if possible a servant to goe with him who is acquainted there.

As to Publick News. I have wrote Mr. Sherer, and Captain Tolson has the News Papers which you may peruse.

If any thing matteriall happens in any part of India, your advising me thereof will be very acceptable. This, with mine and Wives Love and service, is what offers from Your Loving Freind to serve you, [T. B].

Paper 53.

[Thomas Bowrey to John Affleck.]

London, the 12 October 1704.

Mr. John Afflack: Sir, This comes by the *Mary Gally*.... I presume on our former acquaintance to recomend said ship &ca. to your Favour, and shall much esteem all Kindnesses shewed them.².

[T. B.]

¹ On 10 October 1701 Robert Lesly had written to Bowrey, thanking him for past kindnesses, and reporting the removal of his family from Madras to Bengal. He gave a dismal account of trade in India and declared his intention of returning to England at the end of his apprenticeship and taking service under Bowrey. In a previous letter, soon after his arrival in India, he had requested Bowrey to send him three note-books and some paper, so that he might enter facts respecting navigation, and keep a record of any interesting details regarding languages, customs, etc. As stated above (p. 225), this model youth soon after fell from grace and after sowing his wild oats, was left lamenting at Quedah, in the Malay Peninsula

² The portions omitted are identical with those in the previous letter. There are numerous references to John Affleck in the ms. records of Fort St George at the India Office, and in the *Records of Fort St George* printed by the Madras Government.

Paper 54.

[Thomas Bowrey to John Beard.]

London, the 7 October 1704.

Mr. John Beard: Sir, I wrote you of the 23d November 1703 per ship *Rising Sun*¹, Captain T[homas] W[ybergh], recommending him to your favour, which ship hope may have bin with you and enjoyed your favourable assistance², which I am still a solicitor for in behalfe of the *Mary Gally*, whereof J[oseph] T[olson] is C[apt.] and S[uper] C[argo], by whom this comes. She is a separte stock ship, so Intituled to the Protection of the United Company, which hope they will not refuse to act herein as the Law requires³, and for which we pay them 5 per Cent on the Gross sales at the Ships returne to England.

Dr. Evans, Bishop of Bangor, is now in Wales. I advised him of this ship going for Bangal. He wrote me he would send Letters, but have not received them⁴.

This, with all due respects, is what offers from Sir, Your most Humble Servant, [T. B.].

Paper 55.

[Thomas Bowrey to Gabriel Roberts.]

London, the 11 October 1704.

Mr. Gabriel Roberts: Worshipfull Sir, This comes by the *Mary Gally*...⁵. The concerned, whereof I am principall, designing this Ship to stop at Fort St. David and other places on the Coast, where possibly may come under your Government⁶, have, in respect to our former acquaintance, presumed to recomend said ship and cargoe to your Protection and favour and shall esteeme all Kindnesses [done to said ship as obligations on me to serve you whenever is in my power. The Captain has orders from

¹ This letter exists among the Bowrey papers.

² The *Rising Sun* spent a considerable time in Bengal in 1704, and sailed for Persia in January 1704/5.

³ See note 2 on p. 142.

⁴ John Evans, parson and interloper, first Company's Chaplain in Bengal, 1678-89, had been dismissed from that service in 1691 for illegal trading, had returned to England in 1694, and after holding one or more benefices in England and Wales, had been appointed Bishop of Bangor in 1701. Bowrey had known Evans in India and had had correspondence and commercial dealings with him there.

⁵ The portions omitted are repetitions of Paper 52.

⁶ As stated previously, p. 225, Gabriel Roberts was Deputy Governor of the Company's Factory at Fort St David, Vizagapatam.

the Concerned to make you a small acknowledgment of our Respect to you, which hope you will accept¹.

Hoping this ship may arrive before the Companys ships, shall give you a breife account of the most noted actions of this sumer against France and Spaine which hope may be acceptable². . . I conclude, with all due respects, and am, Sir, Your most Humble Servant, T. B.

Paper 56a.

[Thomas Bowrey to Thomas Pitt.]

London, the 11th October 1704.

To Captain Pitts³: Honble. Sir, This comes by the *Mary Gally* whereof J[oseph] T[olson] is Captain and S[uper] C[argo], wherein I am cheifly concerned. She is a Seperate stock ship and has the Company[s] Certificate to shew, so hope shall enjoy all due Protection from the Company at all places in India.

The Concerned designing said ship to Stop at Fort St. George⁴, I am in Duty bound to adress your Honour, desireing your Favours in all matters relating to said Ship and Cargoe and shall much esteeme all Kindnesses shewed. The ship is bound from Fort St. George to Bangal and the Captain has orders to carry Letters or doe any service you please to Command thither.

Supposing this ship may arrive with you before the Companys ships, have sent your Honour the Printed news of the sumer past⁵, which hope may be acceptable.

I hope your Honour will pardon this presumption, having never had the Honour of your acquaintance, but presume you are not a stranger to my name [which is well known to Mr. Aflack and any others who were at Fort St. George when I lived there]⁶. I conclude, with all due respects, and am Your Honours Most Humble Servant, [T. B.].

¹ The words in square brackets are scored through in the original.

² See Paper 56b.

³ It is noteworthy that Bowrey addresses Thomas Pitt, then President and Governor of Fort St George, as Captain Pitts, the title by which he was known while a freeman in Madras and Bengal, 1674-81, and an interloper, 1682-7, 1693-5. In 1697 his interloping practices were condoned and he was appointed President of Fort St George. He sailed to India early in 1698. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, III, i-clxvi, for a detailed notice of this remarkable man.

⁴ The *Mary Galley*, however, only touched at Fort St George, *en route* for Calcutta, after her second visit to Batavia.

⁵ For Bowrey's summary of this "Printed news," see Paper 56b.

⁶ The words in square brackets are scored through in the original.

Paper 56b.

[Bowrey's Abstract of Foreign News of the Summer of 1704.]

The Publick News of this Sumers actions is as, *vizt.*, The Duke of Malbrough with about 50,000 English and Dutch Forces marched in the begining of the Sumer into Bavaria, where in conjunction with the German army, they have had 2 Victorys over the French and Bavarians. In the Latter the Enemy lost about 40,000 men killed and taken prisoners. Among the later, Marshal Tellard, a French General, and about 1400 officers, and is esteemed the greatest blow Fiance has had this 100 Years¹. Since which battle the French and Elector of Bavaria has left Bavaria, which is, the greatest part, reduced to the Empeiors obedience, and are retired into France.

The Duke of Malbrough and the German Army are now beseiging Landow in Alsatia, which is supposed must fall in a few days, the French not having any prospect of releiving it, which will finish a Campaign very Glorious to the Allies and particular[l]y to the Honour of England.

In Savoy the French have bin superiour this Sumer, and having [*sic*] taken Veredil [and] Soren, 2 strong Places in Flanders².

Little of action in Portugall. The Allies have not bin able to hinder the Spainards and French from taking some Places of no great Importance.

Ours and the Dutch Fleet, Comanded by Sir G. Rooke has taken Gibraltar³, which will be of great use to Protect our Trade into the Mediterranean, and after that had, in the Mediterranean, a sea Battle with the French, being of each side about 50 sail in the Line of Battle. The French had the superiority of 600 Guns and 24 Gallys⁴. The fight was very hott for 7 or 8 hours. There

¹ The "2 Victorys" were the assault of the Schellenberg on 2 July and the Battle of Blenheim, 13 August 1704. In the latter action the French and Bavarians were 60,000 strong and lost, as stated, 40,000 men. For the attack on Schellenberg, see the *Postman* of 1-4 July 1704 and for the Duke of Marlborough's report on the Battle of Blenheim, see the *London Gazette* of 14-17 August 1704.

² Bowrey's source of information for this statement has not been ascertained. The contemporary newspapers extant contain nothing about the movements of the French in Flanders in the autumn of 1704.

³ Gibraltar was taken on 24 July 1704.

⁴ These "Gallys" were war-galleys of the Mediterranean type, long popular with the French, vessels which were propelled by a large number of oars worked by slaves or prisoners. Although sails were employed when convenient, they were purely auxiliary, and the galleys were designed primarily for speed under oars. Excepting as representing the parent

was about 12,000 men, or more, killed and wounded on each side, but no ship sunk or taken, but both sides willing to part So considering the disadvantages our Fleet had, we esteem it a victory to come off as we did. Our Fleet is now returned home¹

This is a short account of the Actions of this Summer, which we esteeme very advantagious to the Alliance against France and Spain, especially from the good prospect we have of the Ill condition the Forces of France are reduced to by the great Loss they sustained in the Battle in Bavaria aforesaid

For further particulars refer you to the Printed account which Captain Tolson brings with him.

stock from which the designation of the English merchant galleys was derived, these vessels had nothing in common with the *Mary Galley* (note by Mr G S Laird Clowes)

¹ For an account of the naval battle of 13 August 1704, see *London Gazette* of 14-18 September.

CHAPTER III

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE VOYAGE TO CALCUTTA *VIA* THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE AND THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO

Letters from the Cape of Good Hope

TWO letters from the Cape of Good Hope on the way to the East have been preserved: one from Captain Tolson to Captain Bowrey, and one from Richard Griffin, chief mate of the *Mary Galley*, to his parents.

Tolson's letter is an unsigned copy, written by Joseph Dupuy, the second supercargo, and is therefore much more legible and less involved in style than the captain's own productions, some of which (*e.g.* Papers 76 to 78) are very difficult to decipher. This letter commences by stating that he left Spithead in company with the *Litchfield*, but could not sail so well as his convoy, which soon deserted him. Then, in a discursive fashion, he narrates how he was again chased by a French ship on 2 November, her consort (bound from the West Indies for St Malo) having been captured by the *Litchfield*. Tolson, however, escaped by sailing away from his pursuer. That night he came upon a fleet, and, not knowing if it were friend or foe, he steered to the west, and by dint of rowing, escaped unnoticed. After this he was in a storm for four days, and on 6 November he came across a French ship "lying a trying," or with her bows to the wind, and "run past him at such a Rate [that] he never gave us Chace."

Tolson had no more trouble from French privateers and made the Cape Verde Islands, leaving them to the westward without touching, and found "my Ship to Sayle very well." On 1 January 1705, he made Tristan da Cunha and reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 19th of the same month. Thence he sent letters home by the *Susanna* and *Leghorn* frigate. He also sent home "Six Leagers of Wyne," bought with "the money Received for Beer, according as you

ordered I might." He left the Cape on 26 January, as we learn from a letter sent from Calcutta later on.

The letter from Richard Griffin to his parents is of a very different character. He confirms the arrival at the Cape on 19 January, but the bulk of his news is about an abortive mutiny, in January 1704, on the East India Company's ship *Abingdon*, in which his brother was a midshipman. Extracts from original documents among the India Office Records, regarding this intended mutiny, are given as an appendix to his letter (Paper 58). Griffin also adds a list of those of the crew on board the *Abingdon*, who were personally known to himself and his parents.

One other item of news is given by Griffin, namely the wreck of the Company's ship *Neptune*, Captain John Lashly (or Lesly), which ran ashore at Cape Comorin on 21 June 1704.

Before Bowrey received the two letters recorded below, he seems to have had news of the arrival of the *Mary Galley* at the Cape, for among his correspondence is a letter from his mother-in-law, Frances Gardiner, dated 2 August 1705, and addressed to him at Tunbridge Wells, in which she remarks: "Hear was A womon that hath a Cozen A Board the *Mary Gally* and Sayeth that thear Came A letter from Hollone from one of her Friends that Sayeth the *Mary Gally* and All the Ships Compiny was well at the Cape January the 8." The date (8 January) given by Mrs Gardiner's informant is obviously incorrect. It is probably an error for 28, since the ship did not reach the Cape until 19 January.

Paper 57.

[Captain Tolson to Captain Bowrey from the
Cape of Good Hope.]

Cape bon Esperance.

Sir, Being willing to make use of all Opportunitys, that any way might appear to present, to give you an Account of our proceedings, according to my last dated the 31 of October¹, Sett Sayle from Spitt head under the Convoy of the *Litchfield* with the Wind

¹ Not now available.

at N, Et. We Sayled through the Needles¹ at 4 a Clock in the Evening. I quickly found that my Ship did not sayle soe well Large² as I expected, the *Litchfield* sayling some small matter better then I did, all wich Advantage the Captain, Contrary to his promise, made use of, although in 48 houres he did not gain above 4 Miles of me³.

On the 2d of November, upon the break of the day, I saw a sayle somewhat near me, and perceiving her to be a french ship, I fired at her, after wich he Endeavoured to Enlarge his Distance and made the best of his way from me⁴. In a Small time after, I see the *Litchfield* take the forementioned his Consort⁵, being both from the West Indies and bound for St. Mallo, and the Same time I saw a Sayle to the South Eastward who Immediatly gave me Chace. And he⁶ thereon Sent 6 men unto the prise and made the best of his way. I Came up with the Prise and asked him what his Captain⁶ took those Ships to be, and he tould me his Captain took them to be french Men of War or Privateers I askt if [he⁶] Intended to shorten Sayle for me. To which he ansswered he believed not. I kept on after him [the *Litchfield*] till 11 a Clock, and when See that he did not Intend to shorten Sayle for me, and my Chasers⁷ nearer me then before, Endeavouring to gett to Windward of Me, I Clapt upon a Wind⁸, and I soon found my Ship to mend her Pace from 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ knotts to 9 knotts, the Wind at WNWt. I stood away Wt. and the Eastermost Ship [of the chasers] bearing Et. b No., I found them to drap a Stern a great Pace. After I Clapt upon a Wind, I slackt my Rigging⁹, so that

¹ "Through the Needles" means down the Solent and out past the Needles, at the western extremity of the Isle of Wight.

² "Did not sayle soe well Large," i.e. with the wind aft of the beam or on the quarter.

³ As stated above, note 2, p. 207 on Paper 43, there is no log extant of this voyage of the *Litchfield*.

⁴ On the use of "he" and "she" indiscriminately for ships up to the early eighteenth century see *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed. Temple II, 93, note 5.

⁵ That is, the consort of the French ship at which Tolson had fired.

⁶ Capt. Billingsley, the commander of the *Litchfield*

⁷ The two French ships mentioned above

⁸ "Clapt upon a Wind," brought the ship's head closer to windward.

⁹ "I slackt my Rigging" appears to mean that Tolson slacked the lee shrouds of his main and fore masts in order that yard-arms to leeward might be braced further aft and that consequently the ship could sail nearer to the wind. The introduction, in the nineteenth century, of the "patent truss," which held the centre of the lower yard away from and forward of the mast, rendered such a manœuvre obsolete.

This note has been supplied by Mr Laird Clowes, to whom I am indebted for all the nautical notes in this chapter.

by 2 houres Computation I had gained 5 Miles upon them, and they left off[f] their Chace. I believing the Ship to be somewhat by the head¹, I unstowed my Anchors and stowed them again at the Mainmast. In the Night we fell unto a fleet, amongst [which] we discerned was a Light. I Immediatly altered my Course, and it falling Calme, I gott out my Oars, which I find very usefull to me upon such Occassions; so I believe they did not see me.

The next Day [3 Nov.] wee had a Storme of at S.Wt. We were then in the Lattitude of 48d. No. We splitt our Mainsayle and lay under a Reef Mison². The next Day I resolved to make Sayle to the Westward, apprehending less Danger in standing away Wt. and Wt. b No., then lying a trying³. The Weather Continued 4 Dayes, in which time I had very good Observations, and the Course I steerd Caried Cleare of any part of Ireland, and the Ship being tite, made noe Water. We kept on till the Wind veered about.

The 6 Day of November att Noon I spied a french Snow⁴ lying a trying. He see but our topsail abroad [spread] and run past him at such a Rate he never gave us Chace, we then having the Wind att No.E. b No. and steering away S.Wt. We run 10 knotts. I see none afterwards that seem'd to be Desirous of seeing me or speaking with me.

I made Cape de Verd Islands and went of the Eastward of them in order to shorten my Way. I met with very Contrary Winds and Calmes [which] hath very much defrayed [*sic*] my Passage, for I find my Ship to Sayle very well.

The 10 of December I had the Misfortune of Carieng away [my fore topmast] in the lattitude of 4d. South, though I had secured my Mast with out Lickers⁵ and [had done] what I Could in order to Carry Sayle; for not being able to Cross the Line so far to the Eastward as I Intended, I was Obliged to Carry sayle in order to Carry Clear of the Coast of Bresil, wich I feard. I made

¹ "Somewhat by the head," *i.e.* down by the head, with the head lower in the water than the stern.

² "Lay under a Reef Mison," lay-to under a reefed mizen course. Instead of the split mainsail, the lateen sail was spread on the mizen mast. It seems probable that some sail must also have been spread on the fore mast or bowsprit.

³ "Lying a trying," lying-to with the ship's head to windward as had been done on the previous day.

⁴ See Paper 43, note 2 on p. 208.

⁵ "Out Lickers," a variant of out-riggers. Compare Falconer (1769): "Out-rigger is also a small boom, occasionally used in the tops to thrust out the breast-back-stays to windward, in order to increase their tension, and thereby give additional security to the top-mast."

Tristan de Cuna the first of January [1705], since wich I mett with Contrary Winds.

I Arrived in this Place the 19 Inst. [January 1705], where I found Captain Engeldu in the *Susanna* from Surratt, and Captain Jacob Wright in the *Legorne* frigate, both bound for England¹, by both which you may Expect Letters.

The Wind hath blown very hard 2 Dayes, I having given my Ship a paire of boot topps². And with the Consent of Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Griffin, we thought it might be for the Good of the Voyage to buy for the Cargo Six Leagers³ of Wyne, for wich we gave 45 Dollars per Leager, of the money Received for Beer, according as you ordered I might, of wich [wine] I have sent a small Cask by the *Susanna*, Captain Engeldue, and I have left this with a Deanes [Dane's] ship and 2 more, that is, One with Captain Engeldue and one with Captain Wright, the Deanes Captain having promised me to take a Perticular [care] to Send it to England. All wich being true Coppys of this⁴. I Am now [26th January] unmoored in order to sayle on my Voyage. Soe we rest as before Your humble Servant, [Unsigned].

The Cass [cask] qt. [contains] 12 Gallons markt MG.

[Endorsed]: Copy of Captain Tolsons Letter from the Cape.

Paper 58.

[Richard Griffin to his Parents from the
Cape of Good Hope.]

Cape, Janry. the 26th, 1704/5.

Honoured Father and Mother: Wee having Arrived here the 19 Instant and Having an Oppertunity of writeing to you by the

¹ The *Susanna*, Captain William Ingledeu, and the *Leghorn* frigate, Captain Jacob Wright, were both East India Company's ships. The former, after a long delay at Surat, sailed for England on 18 February 1703/4 (*Factory Records, Surat*, vols 8 and 100). Why she did not reach home in that year does not appear. The *Leghorn* which had left England in October 1701 returned in September 1705 (*Marine Records*, vol. clxviii).

² "Boot-topping, the act of cleaning the upper part of a ship's bottom, or that part which lies immediately under the surface of the water, and daubing it over with tallow, or with a coat or mixture of tallow, sulphur, resin, etc." (Falconer, 1769).

³ Leager, a measure for wine at the Cape, containing about 50 English gallons. See Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, 1, 63.

⁴ Tolson means that there were three copies of his letter, one entrusted to Captain Engledew, a second to Captain Wright and a third to the captain of a Danish ship.

Leghorne Friggott, I made bold to trouble you with a line or two to tell you of my health and [of] all our Ships Company, and of our safe Arrivall att this place, wee touching here only for Water. But since my being here I have been in Company with a Gentleman [John van den Burgen], which is a Liver [inhabitant] att this place, which Came from the ship *Abbingdon* from Carwar, he being Carried by Misfortune from this place by the *Josiah*, Captain Pie¹, And after a short stay on bord the *Josiah*, took Passage with Captain Goodfellow for the Coast of Mallabar and went to Carrwar, a factory [of the E.I.Co.], to Lade Pepper on the Coast, But [by] his Discription of the Voyage it has been Very unfortunate, for as he Verryfies it for truth that Captain Goodfellow is Dead and Mr. [Charles] Gunn Drown'd. The fifth Mate, one [John] Davis, is att present Commander and Mr. Watts Cheif mate. But as for Mr. [Hawes] Newport, the Men has Made Objections against it, and he has Left the ship for Not succeeding his birthwright [expectation] to be Commander. But as for my brother [N. Griffin], he is in very good health and a brisk sailor and Minds his business very well, and is very well respected be [*sic*, by] every body.

And by the same Information, Captain Pies men was going to Runn a Way with both Ships, had itt not been discovered, and Eight Confest designing to Kill Captain Goodfellow and Captain Pie, but some made Objections Against Killing Captain Goodfellow, saying "his [he's] good by Name and good by Nature." Being in Conclusion of the Mater What to doe, was Over heard by one Tagg, and he discovered the Mater; and soe itt was prevented².

Likewise I will give you some mens names as I hear was Liveing when this man [the informant] Left her (being 7 Months since) on the Other side, but since this Misfortune on bord the *Abington*.

Captain Lashley, Commander of the *Neptune*, has Lost his ship a goeing down the Coast Just within Cape Comrine [Comorin], and itt is Reported that he was sent for to Command the *Abbingdon*, but am Not Certain, but by all Proprability itt will be soe, for the *Abbingdon* is gone for Bumbay and he has been sent for thither; therefore itt is Beleived to be for the same account³. If not, I hear a Very good Carrectter of the said [John] Davise,

¹ This is an error. He seems to have sailed as an ordinary passenger. See Appendix to this letter.

² The story as related to Griffin is mainly correct. See Appendix for confirmation from official records.

³ The rumour that Griffin had heard was correct. Captain John Lashley (or Lesly) took command of the *Abingdon*, *vice* Captain Goodfellow deceased.

now Commander. So no more Concerning our Neighbours, but must think a Little of my self.

Wee are now att the Cape, as I wrought [wrote] before, and all in Generall in health, and are in fare Prospect of Makeing a Very good Voyage for our Owners by all people as wee Can Learn of, and am Very well satisfied in my Voyage, ship and Commander. So no more, but Conclude in Health, wishing the same to Your self and Mother, Likewise to my Brother and Sisters, Giveing my Duty to your self and Mother. Love to Brother and Sisters and all friends in Generall. I remain till Death, Your Dutifull Son, RICHARD GRIFFIN.

Pray tell Madam Humfrey that William Crouch¹ is in good health, he being a Cosen of theres. Likewise give my service to her and the Captain, if at home. Likewise to Captain Wells².

Mr. Grist and Mr. Dungey desires to be remembred to there friends

The Gentleman that has gave this Report arrived here but two days before us and Designs for England this fleet, his name being Mr. John Vande Burgen, but must first goe for Holland.

Liveing on bord the *Abbingdon* as I am Informed

Mr. [John]³ Davise, Comander now

Mr. [Bartholomew] Watts, Mate

Wm. Crouch, Midshipman

N[icholas] Griffin, Do.

Tho: Munday, Do.

Giles Loane, Do.

Jno. Packer, Purser

Mr. [William] Collins, Carpenter

Mr. [Benjamin] Dungey, Do. Mate

These being all I knew, made noe further Enquiry Concerning Strangers.

Robt. Watson, Drown'd

[Addressed] To Mr. Nicholas Griffin, Liveing a Little be Low Ratclif Cross near London: Per *Leaghorne* Friggott.

[Appendix to Richard Griffin's Letter, with Extracts from the Log of the *Abingdon* and Other Records of the East India Company.]

The *Josiah*, Captain Randolph Pye, and the *Abingdon*, Captain John Goodfellow, sailed for Bombay in January and February of

¹ A midshipman on board the *Abingdon*.

² ? Richard Wells, the builder of the *Mary Galley*.

³ The names in square brackets have been added from the list in the ledger of the *Abingdon* (*Marine Records*, vol. 687 E). Benjamin Dungey was probably related to George Dungey, second mate in the *Mary Galley*.

1703. Both ships were at the Cape in November-December. Under date 13 December the Log of the *Abingdon* records: "About 3 Yesterday afternoon all our people came on board; Likewise Mr. Van Broughen as a passenger with his black servant for Bombay."

The *Abingdon* left the Cape in company with the *Josiah* and the intended mutiny on that ship was discovered on 24 January 1703/4. Her Log of the 25th has the following entry:

"Yesterday afternoon one of Capt. Pyes men [Richard Robinson, foremastman] Discover'd [disclosed] a Mutiny that was agreed upon by himself and the Gunner[s] mate and most part of the foremast men, with Thomas Pidg[e]on our Boatswaines mate, to run away with the Shipp *Josiah* after this Manner—that went [*sic*, when] our Capt Should be on board [with] them [at] Dinner they Should Set upon them and destroy them all, the Gunners Mate being to Supply them with Arms out of Boat-swaine Guns [Henry Gunn's] Cabbin, for which he's turn[ed] out of place, and some of them put in Iorns; Likewise Thomas Pidgeo[n] on board of us." On the following day three other men of the *Josiah* were implicated in the conspiracy, of which there is no further mention in the Log.

The *Josiah* and *Abingdon* anchored at Anjengo on the Malabar Coast in March 1703/4 and Captains Pye and Goodfellow went ashore for three days and were entertained by John Braburne, chief of the East India Company's factory there. On 16 April the Log of the *Abingdon* has the following entry:

"...Att 5 this Morning our Captain Departed this Life, as his own Opininion was that hee was poysoned by a Black Whench of Mr. Brabrns, hee having Spurred water In her face as She held it for him to wash, haveing been Sick Ever since hee was att Anjango."

On 17 June 1704 Captain Pye's brother at Bombay received letters from the *Abingdon*, written from Karwar on the West Coast of India, north of Anjengo, reporting the death of Captain Goodfellow and that of the chief mate, Mr. Gunn, who, with three others, had been drowned while going ashore in the ship's boat. The letters further reported that Mr Davis, 5th mate, was elected captain of the ship by vote, and that the *Abingdon's* "people" were in "Great disorder."

The reason that Hawes Newport, who kept the Log of the *Abingdon* from 24 Feb. 1702/3 to 14 May 1703, left the ship, appears to have been on account of a quarrell with the other officers of the ship's company as to whether she had made Karwar or not. Newport recorded in the Log that though he was right in

his statement, he was made a laughing stock by the rest of the officers on 13 May. He only entered the events of one more day and then the Log breaks off.

The above information is to be found in the India Office Records, Logs of the *Abingdon* and *Josiah*, *Marine Records*, Vols 687A and 713A. There is also a reference to the death of Capt. Goodfellow and his chief mate in para. 11 of a letter from Madras to the East India Company, dated 15 Sept 1704 (Printed Records of Fort St George, *Despatches to England*, 1701/2-1710/11, p. 12).

Letters describing the Voyage out.

In the course of time Captain Tolson reached Calcutta 18 Nov. 1705, *vide Fort William Diary* of that date (*Bengal Pub. Cons.*, Vol. 1): "Anchored before the Fort three Europe ships, *Vist.*—The *Wentworth*, Captain John Sax Commander; The *Loyall Hester*, Captain John Haselwood Commander; The *Mary Gally*, Captain Joseph Tolson, Commander of a small private Stock ship" Next day an account of her cargo was taken (*Fort William Diary*, 19 Nov. 1705, *op. cit.*): "The *Mary Gally* a Private Stock ship, Arriving here from Batavia yesterday, ordered that Messrs. Pattle and Bugden take an Account of her Cargo in order to our farther information therein. Wrote a Letter to Joseph Tolson Commander of the *Mary Gally* that they had sent Messrs. Pattle and Bugden to enquire into his Cargo." On 23 Nov. 1705, there is a third entry in the *Fort William Diary*: "Mr. Edward Pattle and Mr. William Bugden having been on board the *Mary Gally*, Joseph Tolson Commander, a Separate stock ship, and brought an account of her Cargo, ordered that the same be entered after this Consultation." Then follows "An Account of the Cargo of the *Mary Gally* demanded by the Honble. East India Company and Court of Mannagers att Fort William in Calcutta the 20th day of November 1705, which is as follows *Vist.*:

250 Pecull [c. 130 lb.] of Pepper or thereabouts.

40 Do. of Sugar Candy.

400 Do. of Sapan [sappan, Brazil] Wood or thereabouts.

8 Chests and 2 Boxes of Glass ware qt. [containing] 1109 li.
Between 20 & 30 Leagers of Arrack.

10 Pecull of Cloves.

40 Teake Plank.

JOS. TOLSON; JOSEPH DUPUY; RICH. GRIFFIN

A True Copy, Examined [per] Wm. Bugden, Secry."

From Calcutta Tolson sent two long letters home, dated respectively 12 and 25 December 1705, describing the voyage out. Owing to the uncertainty of communication then obtaining, there is a certain amount of repetition in the two documents and in consequence the second of them is not printed in full. From these letters the story of the voyage can be recounted as follows.

Tolson, accompanying Captain Billingsley of "her Majesties Ship" the *Litchfield* (Queen Anne was then reigning), left Spithead by the inner western channel and the Needles, and reached the Cape of Good Hope as already described. He left the Cape on 26 January 1705, and then followed a tedious passage, till on 19 April he made Nassau Island off the west coast of Sumatra. On 23 April he reached Bencoolen (Benkulen), not far off, on the main island. The arrival of the *Mary Galley* is noted in para. 14 of a letter from the Council at Fort Marlborough, the Company's settlement at Bencoolen, to Fort William, Bengal, dated 30 June 1705 (*Factory Records, Sumatra*, vol. 6): "On the 23d Aprill last Arrived here the *Mary Galley*, a Permission [separate stock] Ship, directly from England, taking her departure thence Ultimo October last, who confirm'd to us the welcome news of the great victory [the Battle of Blenheim] obtain'd in Germany over the French."

Tolson was glad to land and refresh his crew who were "something Inclineing to the Scurvy." At Bencoolen he learnt that "Europe Liquor" was "a Very Dead Commodity" at Batavia, and as his cargo had a large quantity on board, "wee Resolved to goe to Padang in Order to Dispose of some, if not All our Cargoe." Meanwhile he had tried in vain to enter into a contract with "his Honour [Watts] and Councill" of the Factory at Bencoolen.

Tolson's crew now grew "verry sickly" and was reduced to a third of its working power. From the letter of 25 December from Calcutta we learn also: "My men Run away, being two att the Cape and two here [Bencoolen]." Dungey his second mate, took the opportunity of desiring "his Clearence," which evidently very much annoyed Tolson, though

his clearance certificate (Paper 62) shows that he left "upon my Owne request being upon Preferment," namely, to be chief mate of the *Sarum*, a post which he only held for a short time, eventually returning to England as midshipman in the *Herne*. So, in the end, Dungey did not benefit himself by leaving the *Mary Galley*. When thus deserted, Tolson had to ship another mate "att the same Wages, whoe was noe Artisst." This man he got rid of at Balasor, and finally made Benoni Hancock, midshipman, his second mate, with whom he appears to have been satisfied.

From Bencoolen also there is a curious document (Paper 63) dated York Fort, 10 May 1705, which is a clearance certificate from Joseph Dupuy from the *Mary Galley* "and Business as afforesaid [of] Supra Cargoe." By this document he assumes, up to the date of it, his share of responsibility for everything done, and declares that "I Leave the Said ship with my own Accord." He had no quarrel with Tolson, but "I positively declare that I will not proceed any farther in the said *Mary Gally* allthough entreated Per Captain Joseph Tolson to Relinquish my Desier of Leaving the Ship and afforementioned Business of Supra Cargo." Tolson's "entreaties" must, however, have been more powerful than Dupuy's intentions as described in the document, since the latter made a serious report to Bowrey on 20 June about missing cash (Paper 64), and he also signed both the letters sent from Calcutta in December 1705. He evidently went back to Batavia from Calcutta with Tolson, for it is not till 28 July 1706 (Paper 72) that the truth of his behaviour throughout the voyage is revealed to the owners of the ship.

Eventually, Tolson succeeded in making some contracts at Bencoolen, and then, on 17 May, he left that place and sailed along the Sumatra coast north-west, touching at Bantal before reaching Padang. He does not seem to have done better at Bantal than at Bencoolen, for he trusted the "Cheife of Bantall to the Value of 800 Spanish Dollars" and had much difficulty in recovering the money. At Padang Tolson was equally unsuccessful, as appears by his remarks in his letter of 15 September (Paper 67), and it was with

"Greate dissatisfaction" that he proceeded to Batavia, where he arrived on 10 July 1705.

There he found Bowrey's friend, Joseph Hinmers, from whom he had been led to expect advice and assistance, but Hinmers, though cordial, could give him but little help, as he left Batavia the day after the arrival of the *Mary Galley*. Tolson further learned of the death of a Mr Vancaster, to whom he probably carried a letter of recommendation, and he was consequently thrown upon his own resources for the disposal of his cargo. To add to these discouragements, he found his ship so badly eaten by the *teredo* worm, that he was forced to unload her, lay her ashore and complete her sheathing with "Teake boards" from the water-line to the top of her original lead sheathing. This operation and the cause of it made Tolson very angry and he has some scathing remarks about that "Old Knave, Keatch" for advising Bowrey to send a ship to India incompletely sheathed. His vexation was justifiable if, as seems probable, he had relied on the advice of those versed in sailing in Indian waters, of which this appears to have been his first experience. As a tangible proof of his complaint regarding Captain William Keech, he sent home a sample of the wood taken from the ship, by Captain Newton of the *Fleet* frigate.

Moreover, worm-eaten timbers and damaged masts were not the only troubles in Batavia, for most of the "beare" went bad and the "best bower Anchor was lost."

While at Batavia, Tolson came in contact with three of the crew of the *Prosperous*, a vessel in which Bowrey was interested and one whose history, as told in the Bowrey papers and the India Office Records, is almost as interesting as that of the *Mary Galley*. The story of the *Prosperous* is briefly as follows.

She was a ship of 230 tons, owned by Bowrey and five others, and was licensed by the New East India Company in 1701 to trade "for Negroes" at Madagascar, where she arrived in May 1702. While a portion of the ship's company was ashore on the island, the ship was seized by pirates, with the connivance of the majority of the men remaining on

board. Captain Hilliard, the commander, was killed and one of the mutinous crew made captain.

Twenty-eight of those left on shore got away in the ship's boat, the *Linnet*, which touched at Johanna, Comoro Islands, where five of the number decided to remain. The rest, after a voyage of five weeks, reached Surat in September 1702. On arrival, they were suspected of piracy, and in spite of the efforts of Sir Nicholas Waite (the New Company's Consul at that place) to clear them of the charge, they were imprisoned by the Muhammadan Governor of Surat for nearly six months. Their release was due to the need of their services in the defence of the town against a threatened attack by the "Savagees" or Maratha forces.

The "Supra Cargo Assistant" of the *Prosperous*, one of those who escaped to Surat, was Edward Long, probably a relative of Nathaniel Long, Bowrey's companion in his trip to Flanders in 1698. A Thomas Studds, one of the crew, who may have been the father of the midshipman of that name in the *Mary Galley*, was also imprisoned at Surat.

Of the three members of the company of the pirated ship encountered by Tolson at Batavia (see Paper 59), one was John Webber, third mate, who had left the sloop and stayed behind at Johanna, and another was Richard Ranton, boat-swain's mate, "the Greate Villon, the Cheife Actor in the Running Away with her." The third unnamed man was probably confederate with Ranton. Tolson would have liked to have handed these two over to justice, but feared lest they should be delivered up to him, and he would not risk contaminating his own men by their influence. For Webber's fate he had much sympathy. He gave him a passage to Bengal and "shiped him by Recommendation Cheife Mate on bord the *Mary Ann*," a separate stock ship, bound for Batavia and thence to England.

To return to Tolson's voyage. He left Batavia on 2 September "verry Deep Laden" with his fresh cargo, for the account of which see Paper 61, and after a "verry Long Passage and Verry Hard weather," reached Balasor Road on 10 November, leaving Grist the purser behind in Batavia.

On 16 November Tolson's "Dutch Piolett," who was hired to take him up to Calcutta, "Runn us Upon A sand" below Sangral Point on the right bank of the Hugli, "Where I Lay 2 tides. The 1st tide I Exspected every Minute to have seen her goe all to Peices, Lieing Right Thawrte [athwart] the tide, which Runn Like the Currant under London Bridge." He must have been in great danger. But all the damage, "Contrary to all Human Reasons," she received was a "Charge of 60 Rupees," as "I Gott her off[f] before Any Assistance Came" from two other ships close by. All who, like the present writer, know the Hugli River and its dangers when grounding, will understand that Tolson was lucky indeed.

At this point the letter of 25 December comes to an end, but that of the 12th goes on for some length, concerned largely with trade matters, leaving but a few points to notice here.

In regard to Bowrey's fears of opposition and hard treatment from the East India Company, Tolson writes: "As yett I doe not find any Reason to beleive that I shall have any Evill treatement from the Government," especially as he had sold most of his cargo to "his Honour Shelldon," one of the Council, "soe that he being my freind I doe not feare any Examination of my Affaires." Also in a General Letter from the New East India Company's servants at Calcutta to England, dated 5 December 1715 (O.C. 8408), they comment, with no adverse remark, on the presence of "three Seperate Stock Ships now in our River," the *Rising Sun* and the *Mary Galley*, both Bowrey's ships, and the *Macclesfield* in which he was also interested.

In Tolson's letter of 12 December he stated his intention "to Come home with the Dutch fleet, soe that I hope to Depart this Place 12 Months hence," *i.e.* in December 1706. As a matter of fact he left for England, with the Dutch Fleet as convoy from Batavia, early in 1707, after having returned there in 1706 and made a second voyage thence and back to Calcutta *via* Madras.

Tolson reports favourably on Mr Richard Wells as the

builder of the *Mary Galley*, and remarks that "the Dutch men I brought from Batavia, being 3, is all Run away heare, haveing had A Months Pay advance att Battavia." He gives also a favourable account of Archibald Whittman, or Wightman, who had been acting as boatswain, apparently for James Goodman, who was sick. Next he reports the desertion of two men at Bencoolen and goes into a long story of how Grist had tried to follow him out of Batavia in a boat on his departure, but missed him, and winds up the account as if in response to Bowrey's strictures on Grist while the ship was in home waters: "Mr. Grist had behaved himself very well, soe that I am positive he had noe designe to Leave the ship, nor I any Reason to leave him but by misfortune."

Grist explains his presence at Batavia after the departure of the *Mary Galley* in a letter to Bowrey (Paper 65) dated 7 January 1705/6. In this letter he writes that the ship left "me behinde, through an Unlucky Accident." He then goes on to say that Tolson had consigned letters and presents for Bowrey and his friends to Mr John Moor, a merchant, who had tried to get Captain Garraway of the *Dover* to take them to England, but he refused to serve Tolson in any way. Garraway had met Tolson at Bencoolen and there must have been some quarrel between them. However, Grist handed the letters to one Mr Jones to "putt into the Post Office, as Soon as arrived in England." They were readdressed to Hammond and it seems that one, at least, of these letters (Paper 67) reached Bowrey *via* France. Grist also says that the *Mary Galley* was expected back in Batavia. She reached that place about April 1706.

There remains one other item of news in Tolson's letter of 12 December, probably the most interesting part of it to Bowrey: "Mr. Sheldon has promised to Dispatch mee from Callcutta by the 25th of January next [1705/6]." There is no direct evidence as to the exact date of Tolson's departure from Calcutta, but from the *Fort William Diary* for 7 February 1705/6 we learn that "the *Mary Galley*, Captain Joseph Tolson, broke ground bound for Batavia." However, he probably left about 15 February 1706, as there is preserved

an invoice of that date of goods "provided for Capt. Tolson by Ralph Sheldon" on board the *Mary Galley*. Tolson would not have left for Batavia much later, as he would thereby have lost the north-east monsoon in the Bay of Bengal and his passage. In fact it is clear from Paper 68 that he had agreed to be back by 20 March 1706. Also, when he writes from Batavia on 28 July, he complains of being still kept there to "my Great Dissatisfaction" showing that he had been there some time, probably from early in April 1706, which would predicate a departure from Calcutta about the end of February at the latest.

Paper 59.

[From Captain Tolson to Captain Bowrey.]

Calcutta December the 12. 1705.

Sirs, Haveing this Good oppertunity by Captain Wibridge¹, I am willing to Give you A full Account of the passages, Conveniences and Inconveniences that hath Attended our Voyage to this Place.

The 31st of October 1704 I passed the Neadles under a Convoy of Captain Thomas Billingsly in her Majesties Ship the *Lutchfeild*, whoe served me as you see in the Coppy of my Letter from the Cape of Good Hope², which Gives you An Account of our departure from thence and what had passed in our Passage to that Place.

I departed from the Cape the 26th of January and the 26th of February I Lost my fore topmast Againe³.

The 5th of Aprill wee where in the Lattitude of 4d. 50m. S. and 66 Degrees to the Eastward of Cape Bona Esperance, haveing had a verry tediousse Passage, and where I Exspected to have mett with the Westerly Monsones, I mett with Little Else but Calms.

The 19th of Aprill wee made the South end of the Iland Nassaw⁴ which was my Designe to fall in withall, Allthough I hoped to have made itt sooner, but by greate Calms and Westerly Currents I Could not Accomplish my desire sooner.

¹ Captain Thomas Wybergh of the *Rising Sun*, who had arrived in India in 1703.

² See Paper 57

³ Owing to the small size of the tops and the insufficient staying of the masts, as explained in Papers 57 and 60

⁴ Nassau Islands, consisting of North and South Pageh on the west of Sumatra.

In Councill wee Resolved to goe for Bencolen, where wee Arrived the 24th, and by the Government verry sivilly Received¹. My men was something Inclining to the Scurvy. I would have Proceeded According to your Order, but haveing a Relation by 2 ships from Battavia that Europe Liquor being a Very Dead Commodity, [and], After haveing Endeavoured to Oblidge his Honour and Councill if Possable to Ingage in A Contract According to Instructions, which I could not Accomplish, Altho I Proffered Cheaper then Ordered, wee Resolved to goe to Padang² in Order to Dispose of some, if not All our Cargoe

In this time my men began to be verry sickly My Second mate [George Dungey] there desired his Cleareance, which I had noe greate Reason to Deny him, Although to my thinking I had used him as A Brother for his farthers sake. Att that time $\frac{2}{3}$ of my men was sick, therefore think him verry Ungratefull according to my Judgment. I shiped another there att the same Wages, whoe was noe Artisst, butt my want of men Oblidged mee to have some [one], Alltho' Mr. Hancock³, who I have now made my second mate, by All Appearance was more Capcable then hee. I Cleared Mr. Dungey the 8th May 1705⁴, whoe hath behaved him self soe that hee is now going home from this Place A Midshipman with Captain Lane⁵ for Europe

I sett saile from Bencolen the 17th of May in the Morning. The Contracts made there I have sent here Inclosed, and Likewise att Bantall, att Pollosinck⁶, &c. Att Padang I had but small success, finding the Places as [per] the Relation in my Last from Battavia, whereof you have here Inclosed A Coppy⁷.

To my Greate dissatisfaction, then, I made the Best of my way for Battavia. I had trusted the Cheife of Bantall⁸ to the Value of

¹ The head of the Company's factory at Bencoolen at this date was Richard Watts, who died on 17 December 1705 and was succeeded by Matthew Ridley.

² Padang, on the west coast of Sumatra, opposite Siberut Island

³ Benoni Hancock, who shipped as a midshipman in the *Mary Galley*.

⁴ See Paper 62. ⁵ Captain J. Lane of the Company's ship *Herne*.

⁶ Bantal, on the west coast of Sumatra, between Bencoolen and Padang. "Pollosinck" is the "Poelo Tsjinko" or "Poelo Sinkal" of Valentyn, V., *Sumatra*, p. 17, which he says is 12 (Dutch) miles from Padang. The island is marked on his map of Sumatra between Indrapura and Padang.

⁷ See Paper 67.

⁸ By "Cheife of Bantall," Bowrey seems to mean the Malay Governor of the place, for although the Dutch had trading stations at Padang and elsewhere on the west of Sumatra, they had, at this date, but one representative for the whole of the coast. Valentyn, who has a list of "Opperhoofden van Sumatra's West-Kust" 1666-1724, gives Abraham Schepmoes as "Opperkoopman" 1705-7 (V., *Sumatra*, p.

800 Spanish Dollars, and Allthough I had from under his hand and the Seconds Likewise, I was detarded Eight Dayes att Bencolin before I could gett the Principall without Demoareidge [demurrage], According to Contract.

The 10th of July I Arrived Att Battavia, Where I found Mr. Hinmars, whoe was verry willing to give mee all the Advice he Could to my Intrest¹. But he departed from Battavia the Next day after I came hither, Mr. Vancaster², as in the Coppy of my Battavia Letter³, being Dead before I Could speake to him.

I found my ship to be in Greate Dainger of the Worme⁴, and my Maine Mast Proveing verry bad, I found my Self Oblidged, for the security of the ship, to Dispose of my Cargoe, being much touched with the Worme. I had Carpenters and Colkers [caulkers], dayes Work, 118, Att A Rupee a Day, my Colker being sick and Deyed 7 Dayes after I bungun [*sic*] the Worke. I had 200 Teake boards att 18 Dollars per Hundred, 4 Pecoll⁵ of Nailes att 12 dollars per pecoll; for a Greate boate to Putt my Lumber in, 3 Dollars per day; 6 Duckatones [ducatoon] to the Subanders [*shāhbandar*, harbour-master's] Boateswaine as A fee to not to take notice of what buisness I did, for I could not Gett A free Liberty to Lay her Ashore. And for Oacom [oakum], Dammer [*damar*, pitch], Oile, the Hire of English men and Cooleys, the Whole Cost of the sheathing and Cheking the Maine Mast⁶ and

¹ Joseph Hinmers (or Hynmers) junior was the son of Joseph Hinmers, who served the Company at Fort St George for ten years and died there as Second of Council. The younger Joseph also served the Company at Fort St George for a time and Bowrey doubtless knew both father and son in India. In 1704, Joseph Hinmers junior, who had resigned his post as factor and had returned to England, was appointed supercargo of the Company's ship *Toddington*, Captain Thomas Blow, bound to Batavia. Before his departure Bowrey had some correspondence with him relative to the collection of material regarding the languages of the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere, as well as details regarding coins, weights and measures, manners and customs, etc.

² I have found no trace of this individual in the lists of Dutch officials furnished by Valentyn. He was probably a merchant with whom Bowrey had come in contact during his trading voyages while in India.

³ See Paper 67.

⁴ The *teredo* or ship-worm. See Mundy, III, 173 and note.

⁵ The *pikul* of Batavia, of about 135 lb. avoirdupois. The teak boards were employed for completing the sheathing of the under-water body of the ship, from the top of the lead sheathing (see p. 167, note 4) to the water-line.

⁶ "Cheking the Maine Mast" means fitting new cheeks to the main mast, the original cheeks having been damaged when the head of the main mast was sprung or cracked (see Paper 67).

"Cheeks, the faces or projecting parts on each side of the masts, used

the Makeing the tops¹ will Amount to 450 Rix Dollars², as by my Books will Appaere, besides the Loss of time. Soe that I advise you, never Propose to send out Another ship unsheathed, nor to take the Advice off that Old Knave, Keatch³ to send ships to India, Where the Long Passage Oblidges the Carrying of saile, to not Allow security for the Masts⁴, for which hee hath had my Wishes that he had Perished in the Coale Lighter where the Waterman Left him, for I doe Asure you that it was a Greate Prolonging of my outward bound Passage.

These fitteagues, and the Indisposion of my Assistance by sickness and my stock being small and Waisteing Dayly, made mee to Comply with the Articles heare inclosed⁵.

I Departed from Battavia the 2d of September verry Deep Laden. I mett with a verry Long Passage and Verry Hard weather. The 10th of November I Arrived in Ballasore Roade. Mr. Grist was Left att Battavia⁶. Likewise Att the same Place I mett with Mr. Webber and two other of the *Prosperouses* Men⁷, the One the Greate Villon, the Cheife Actor in the Running Away with her. I would Gladly have sent him to Justice, but upon Consideration, 1st that my Owne Officers in whome I could trust being Indisposed by sickness, and feareing that iff I Demanded Justice of the Goverment they would have delivered them into my Hands; and beleive my men to be verry Honest and did not

to sustain the frame of the top, together with the top mast which rests immediately upon them" (Falconer, 1769).

¹ "Makeing the tops" seems to indicate that Tolson fitted new tops to the main and fore masts and built them larger than the old ones in order to obtain that increased leverage on the topmast shrouds which his "Outlicker" had failed to give him when he first lost his fore topmast (see Papers 57 and 60).

"Top, a sort of platform surrounding the lower mast-head, from which it projects on all sides like a scaffold. The principal intention of the top is to extend the topmast shrouds, so as to form a greater angle with the mast, and thereby give additional support to the latter" (Falconer, 1769).

² It will be noticed that Tolson mentions three kinds of dollars, all current in Batavia, the dollar or real of eight, worth about 4s 3d, the ducatoon, a Dutch silver coin, worth about 5s 5d. (in Europe), and the Rix dollar, worth about the same as the real of eight.

³ Captain William Keech was concerned in a bottomry bond on the *Worcester* with Bowrey and Thomas Hammond. There is no record of his advice concerning the *Mary Galley* among the Bowrey papers.

⁴ Bowrey's complaint is that the staying and fittings of both lowermasts and topmasts, while sufficient for ordinary coasting voyages in Europe, were not strong enough for a voyage to the East Indies, during which sail had to be carried continuously for long periods.

⁵ See Paper 68.

⁶ See Paper 65.

⁷ See *ante*, p. 245.

Care to have them Corrupted by Villons. Mr. Webber I gave A Passage to Bengall, he being verry Poor, but behaved himself verry sivilley on bord my ship; and what ever he hath been formerly¹, I beleive hee will make a Good Man. I shiped him by Recommendation Cheife Mate on bord the *Mary Ann*, Captain Godwin, A seperate stock ship, and he is gone to Batavia, and as I understand, bound for England from thence, in which Imploy I hope hee will doe verry Well.

My second Mate [whom] I Shiped at Bencolen² I cleared hear for some Certaine Reasons of Negktlecting my buisness to disadvantage of yours and my Intrest. I Paide him his Wages and maide Mr Hancock my second mate³, whoe hath behaved himself verry well and in my Eye is most deserveing of That post.

Att Battavia I had Considerable Loss by beare being sowre, and 7 Chests of beare that Came on bord Last, att the Opening of them at Padang, Appeared Like unto the Dunghill, in soe much that wee saved but 34 Dozen, being fill'd up one with another, much of which proved Bad afterwards and turned to Little Account. The strong beare burst severall of the Caske. The Chease I sould Last att Battavia, haveing disposed of but Little before I sould them 1 Doller $\frac{3}{4}$ per Chese, one with the Other

Att Battavia I Lost my best bower Anchor, and the Reason my Cable Parted, I Judge itt to be Cutt by Anchor flukes⁴; and haveing no buoy⁵, and the Anchor sunck in the Mudd, [I] Could not gett him, the Want of which I Cannot Excuse, by not being of my Necklect, by noe other way then my buisness Lieing heavey upon mee and my People sick, I was forsed to Lett things be some times Contrary to my Inclineations and Judgment⁶.

That Night I Arrived in Ballasore I took A Dutch Piolett and

¹ There is no evidence to show that Webber had any dealings with the pirates who seized the *Prosperous* or with the members of the crew who connived at the outrage Tolson, however, may have considered him blameworthy for remaining at Johanna, when the sloop with the refugees from Madagascar proceeded to Surat.

² See *ante*, p. 249

³ See *ante*, p. 187.

⁴ "Best Bower Anchor; the biggest anchor that hangs at the bow" (Sutherland, *Shipbuilders Assistant*, 1711). The flukes of an anchor are the flattened portions, each shaped like a triangular spade, which are formed at the outer ends of the two arms.

⁵ The anchor-buoy, when employed, is attached to the anchor by a long line, and so serves to indicate the position of the latter even after the cable has parted

⁶ Tolson means to say that the loss of the anchor was not due to his personal neglect, except in so far as his heavy business cares and the worry of having so many men sick obliged him to leave some things to others against his inclination and judgment.

Gave 100 secar [sicca] Rupees to Carry mee up to Calcutta, but he haveing not soe Good Exsperiance as hee ought to have, Runn us Upon A sand the Next Reach below Jangerall Point¹, the 16th of November, Where I Lay 2 tides². The 1st Tide I Exspected every Minute to have seen her goe all to Peices, Lieing Right Thawrte [athwart] the Tide, which Runn Like the Currant under London Bridge. I had shored her³, [so] that shee stood upwright, and as Pleased God, Contrary to All Human Reasons, she did not make any More water then useally, which is butt verry Little. The Next tide I Gott out the best bower Anchor Againe which wee hove home the Tide before, or Else wee had Gott her of⁴, and by the Help of the Wind and All my sailes sett I Gott her of before Any Assistance Came. Captain Hurle⁵ sent mee two boates, his Long boate and Yawle⁶ and the Bucksees [bakhshi, paymaster], Mr. Prattle⁷, two towe Boates and A sloop.

Heare [Calcutta] I received your Letters⁸, but as yett I doe not find any Reason to beleive that I shall have any Evill treatement from the Government. Wee have sold our Cargoe, Most of itt to his Honour Shelldon⁹, soe that he being my freind I doe not

¹ "Jangerall Point," called "Sangerall Point" in Tolson's letter of 25 December is the Sangral of Rennell (*Atlas of Bengal*, 1781, Map 19), on the right bank of the Hughli at the end of the reach below Calcutta.

² The letter of 25 December (Paper 60), clearly by mistake, says that this incident occurred on 6 November.

³ That is, shored her up. See *ante*, Paper 17, note 2 on p. 173.

⁴ The meaning is, that at the previous high tide Tolson had sent his largest anchor away in a boat, and had placed it in such a position as he hoped would enable him, by hauling on the cable, to drag the ship off the sandbank, but that instead, the anchor had been dragged back to the ship, which had itself remained immovable. Had the anchor held, he would have got the ship off, as he did at the second attempt.

⁵ Captain John Hurle, commander of the *Maclesfield*, then in the river Hughli (see *ante*, p. 246).

⁶ "Yawl, a small ship's boat, usually rowed by four or six oars" (Falconer, 1769).

⁷ Mr "Prattle" is Edward Pattle, who served the Company in Bengal from 1692 till his death on 1 March 1714/15. See Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, vols. I, II, for the various posts he held.

⁸ Tolson is referring to the letter from the owners of 16 November 1704, sent in duplicate by different ships (see Paper 60).

⁹ Ralph Sheldon, one of the "Old" East India Company's servants, was at this date (1705) President of the "United Council," having been appointed on the death of John Beard in July 1705. He held this post from September 1705 until his death on 26 April 1709. The post of President of Bengal was temporarily abolished on the Union of the two East India Companies and business was carried on by the four senior servants of each of them.

feare any Examination of my Affaires. I have had some proposalls with his Honour to Come heare Againe, which Beleive I shall, and then, without your orders to the Contrary, God willing, I will Returne for Europe. I hope to bee in A Condition by that time to Purchase a Cargoe of 40,000 Rupees, and if the best of our Judgment may be safe to follow your Instructions in our Returne to Europe, I shall give All due Respect to them; but if any way more safe, you may Depend that I will use my Endeavours to Come safe. And I hope to make all the Gentlemen Concerned Gainers by the Voyage, soe that I hope none will be forward in Insureing, for I doe Value the safe Returne of the Ship Equall with my Life, and will as soone Loose one as the Other

My Intent is to Come home with the Dutch fleet, soe that I hope to Depart this Place 12 Months hence. I am verry Likely to Come by A verry bad markt for the Glass ware, itt being A Verry dead Commodity. Wee have 12 Rupees for 75 *li.* of Pepper and for Arrack 90 Rupees per Leager.

I have made a Cable of Koyer¹, my small bower Cable proving not Trustworthy, for att Bantall itt Gave way in faire weather and no straine. The buoy Rope² broke and I lost the Anckor, but being in search After itt, I found Another About 2 cwt. Less, which I Allwaies finde will hold more then I am Willing to trust to that Cable. I sould the Yaule³ att Battavia for 40 Dollars, findeing one boate to be sufficient for my Compliment of men.

As for Opium, the Price itt beares now att Battavia and the Price in Bengall I find itt noe Commodoty, and the Gentlemen with whome I made these Articles is the Cheafe trader in Battavia for Opium, and they will not have any Opium in the ship, for heare itt is att 300 Rupees per Chest, and Att Battavia by Reason of the War, itt is but 190 Rix Dollars per Chest⁴; soe that I think not to take any on the ships Account, but Rather take the Privilage in the Articles mentiond in Other Goods.

I will send you An Account more Att Large by the *Fleate*

¹ "Koyer," coir, rope of cocoanut fibre.

² "Buoy rope," the rope by which the anchor-buoy is fastened to the anchor.

³ In Papers 15 and 18 (pp 159 and 178), two boats are mentioned as belonging to the *Mary Galley*, a long-boat and a pinnace. As earlier in this Paper (p 253) a long-boat and a yawl are distinguished, it may be assumed that the yawl of the *Mary Galley* was identical with (or possibly a substitute for) the pinnace with which she was first equipped, and that after its sale, the ship was left with only a long-boat.

⁴ Taking the rupee at 2s. 6d. and the Rix dollar at 4s. 2d., a chest of opium was worth £33. 15s. and £39. 11s. 6d in Bengal and at Batavia respectively at this date

frigot, Captain Newton¹, of my Affaires here, but shall be Allwaies Cautious of Interseptions, for as for the Letter sent for the Downes, I neaver Received itt, Dated the 19th of October, but the Letter dated the 28th of Do. I did receive, when the ship was Under saile and after I had sent mine away, Dated the 30th [October] 1704².

As for Mr. Wells, I doe not finde but that hee hath done you [the] Just part of a Man in All Respects Relateing to the Ship, for iff she Had not been stronger then itt Might have been Exspected [in] one of her built [build], shee never had Come of[f] whole, haveing such a Large Quantity of Coper, Toothanegg [tutenaga, spelter] and tinn as I had. The Maine mast I hope will doe verry Well, but itt was farr from as Good as itt should have been.

The Guilded Knives I have had most Part by mee till I Came here, and the Glass ware, [and] all the shaules. I can gett noe more then 4 Rupees a peice for them, and before I Came to this Place I neaver Could have the Proffer of Any money for them. The Spanish Rashes³ I Left att Battavia in order to bee disposed off in the Merchants hands I have dealt with.

I have had one Hogshead of Wine Leaked out. I bought Koyer [coir] for 4½ Rupees per maund, and Captain Hurle took some exceptions because I would not give him six, and soe he sent mee 3 Leaguers off Arrack back, Complaineing off the Goodness, altho hee had his Mate on board to see itt Good and in Good Condition delivered.

The Dutch men I brought from Batavia, being 3, is all Run away heare, haveing had A Months Pay advance att Battavia. Archiballd Whittman Hath been A Verry Deligent servant to the ship and a verry sober Good man, and I have Respected him, and hee hath Acted as Boateswaine this 6 Months, the Boateswaine haveing been Indisposed by sickness soe Long, and I am dubiouse of his Recovery. Iff he Recovers⁴ I will make the Aforementioned

¹ Charles Newton seems to have succeeded Thomas Burgess as captain of the *Fleet* frigate (see *ante*, note 2 on p. 195). The vessel reached Calcutta on 27 June 1705 (Wilson, *Early Annals*, I, 273), and it is possible that her commander died there. At any rate, Newton was selected as captain when the vessel made her next voyage to India in 1707 (*Court Book*, 42, 725).

² For Bowrey's letters of 19 and 28 October 1704, see Papers 40 and 45. Tolson's letter of 30 October has not been traced.

³ See *ante*, note 4 on p. 157.

⁴ In the list of the crew shipped in England (Paper 23), there are the names of two men who filled the office of boatswain, *viz.* James Goodman who ran away at Calcutta, and John Mitchell, who was taken prisoner by the French in 1707. So it looks as if Goodman recovered and deserted the ship. His place was eventually supplied by Mitchell (see Paper 72),

my Gunner, and I hope you will Consider and Gratifie the Dilligent, [of] all which I shall give you a true Relation.

If God should Call me aside, I hope I have those to succe[e]d that will use theire Endeavours to guard theire Owne Reputation and your Intrest, Altho' I praise God I am and have been in Perfect Bodeyly health, soe that with Gods Assistance I can foresee noe Aspect that you may not have a Good Voyage. Neither have I any reason to speak ill of those who itt should Please God should bee my successors, soe that I hope none will be forward in In-sureing.

The Cargoe I brought heare [from Batavia] Amounts to 50,000 Rupees and upwards, all which and more is to goe back in my ship, according to our Contracts with his Honour Sheldon and others, soe that my security neaver goes out of my Hands, and you may Depend never shall.

I ordered a Case of Arrack to bee sent from Battavia, of the best that Could be Procured, which I hope will Come to your Hands in order to drink to our safe Arrivall to yours and our satisfaction, to which I Pray God Assist oure Endeavours, which shall not be wanting, soe far as Life and Health permitt.

Joseph Ford and William Smith (the man I had in the rome of James Jones¹) Runn Away Att Bencolen the 15th May 1705.

Mr. Sheldon has promised to Dispatch mee from Callcutta by the 25th of January next.

Att our Comeing of[f] the shore of Batavia, the Day before I took my Leave thereof, I Gave Notice to All that belonged to mee that I would saile att 2 in the Morning. Mr Grist went on shoare that Afternoone and I told him that I should saile by 2 in the Morning. The Gentlemen with whome I Dealt² Came off in Order thereto and I sett saile att 4 in the Morning, and att 11 I see a boate following mee and pe[r]ceiveing Mr. Grist to be in her, I sent the Gentlemens Paunch along³ to fetch him, but by some misfortune the boate Lost us and did not Come to us to the Place appointed, which was off Bantam Point, in order to Take in the Gentleman. I doe beleive Mr. Grist was in the boate, for att his Comeing into the Paunchalong, the Other boate returned. The Gentleman I put on bord the *Pant[h]er*, Captain John Camell for Archibald Whitman who was designated for the post, in the event of Goodman's death, only held it for a short time, dying in April 1706.

¹ Joseph Ford joined the ship in England. James Jones was discharged at the Cape (see Paper 23).

² John Moor and Charles Bugden. See *post*, Paper 68.

³ "Paunchalong," a variation of the Bengal "paunchway" (Beng. *panśōl*), a small river or passage boat.

Commander¹, bound for Betavia. Mr. Grist had behaved himself verry well, soe that I am positive he had noe designe to Leave the ship, nor I any Reason to Leave him but by misfortune

Soe wee Conclude and remaine, your most Humble and faithfull servants,

JOSEPH TOLSON

JOSEPH DUPUY

RICHARD GRIFFIN²

[No address]: [Endorsed by Thomas Bowrey]. Capt. Tolson, Calcutta Decr. 8th³ 1705.

Paper 60.

[From Captain Tolson to "Elias Dupuy in Companie."]

Calcutta, December the 25th 1705.

Sirs,

Att my Arrivall here I received your two Letters, One by Captain Burges⁴, and the Other by Captain Hurle⁵, dated the 16th of November 1704; the Advices in all I shall use the best of my Endeavours to follow. I have mett with verry sivill treatement here and att all other places I have been Att under the English Government.

* * * *

The 25th of Aprill⁶ I Lost my fore topmast the Second time, borth [*sic*] which times I can Impute to nothing Else but want of Good Secureity, as tops to Spread my shrouds⁷, and more shrouds, which I have taken Care sinse to have, finding my outward bound Voyage verry much retarded by my not being Able to Carry the Saile Convenient.

* * * *

Att which time Mr. Dungey desired his discharge, which I took verry ungratefull. Yett, notwithstanding my weekeness of my Ships Company, for some Certaine reasons, I thought Convenient to Grant his request. His Honour Watts Entertained him

¹ The *Panther*, an East India Company's ship commanded by Capt. John Camell, sailed for India in September 1704. She returned to England in September 1708 (*Marine Records, Logs*, p. 12).

² This letter and the following, like that of Tolson from the Cape (Paper 57), are in the hand of Joseph Dupuy.

³ An error for 12 December.

⁴ This shows that Captain Thomas Burgess was alive when Tolson reached Calcutta in November 1705. See *ante*, pp. 195, 255.

⁵ See pp. 246, 253.

⁶ This date is wrong. It should be 26 February. See Paper 59.

⁷ See p. 236, note 5, and p. 251, notes 1 and 4.

In his Servise as Chefe mate of the *Sarum*. * * * Mr. Dungey is now Comeing home Midshipman in the *Hearn*¹.

The 17th of May I sett saile from Bencoolen In order to Procced to the Northward. I touch't Att Bantall, Pulosinck, and soe on to Padang. * * *

From thence I proceeded towards Battavia, where I Arrived the 10th of July, where I found my Ship to be in greate danger of the [*teredo*] Worme which had already touched her, although I had Given her two boote tops² since my departure from England. Here wee resolved to sheath her³, and in order theretoo, dispose of some of our Cargo and Lay her A shore on the S W. side of the Peare Heads, which wee did, And sheathed her with Teake bord. But the Water flowing but foure foot, there happened to be a Certaine Place on the Larbourd side which wee Could not Come att to sheath, the breadth 3 Inches and in Length 10 foot Just Above the Lead⁴, which att our Getting her Ashore here, wee found all Eate with the Wormes Like a Honey Comb, by which meanes she made Water Considerably in the Latter part of our Passage to this Place.

Att Battavia I Gott out my Maine Mast and Cheaked him and Made tops⁵ and took in the remaineing part of my Goods not disposed of, as in the Aforementioned Letter [of 12th Dec.] I gave you an Account, and sett saile the 2d of September towards this Place, where I have disposed of some Goods of my Cargoe, but I feare I shall not be able to dispose of all and Invest my money In Order to Returne for England this Season. But the Cargoe hath turned to a verry Good Account and I hope to make a Good Voyage to the Sattisfaction of all you Gentlemen Concerned in the Ship and to Returne for England the 1st of the next Season. Soe that I hope none will be to[o] forward in Insureing their Concernes⁶, for I value the safe returne of the Ship Equall with my Life, and will Indanger one as far as the Other.

* * * *

¹ See pp. 243, 249.

² See p. 237, note 2. "Two boote tops" signifies that each side was treated by boot-topping. Cf. "a paire of boot topps" (Paper 57, p. 237).

³ See note 5 on p. 250.

⁴ The *Mary Galley* must have drawn normally about 10 ft. of water. Consequently, when she was laid ashore at a spot where rise and fall of the tide was only 4 ft., there remained a depth of about 6 ft. of hull covered by water at low tide. It would appear that this depth corresponded approximately with that originally sheathed with lead when the vessel was fitted out in the Thames (see p. 167, note 4).

⁵ See *ante*, p. 250, note 6, and p. 251, note 1.

⁶ Tolson seems to have been anxious that the owners should not insure the ship and cargo, appearing to think insurance a waste of money. To

I have made a Coyer [coir] Cable, my small bower [anchor] proveing verry ordinary. I Lost my best bower Ankor in Battavia Road¹. The Charges of my sheathing the ship, Cheakeing the Maine Mast, makeing the tops and Cross trees² [are] as in the Account Inc[l]osed³.

Soe wee Conclude till A More better Opertunity Pressents to give you a More Larger Account and remain Sirs, Your Most Humble Servantts,

JOS: TOLSON

JOS: DUPUY

RICHD: GRIFFIN

I have sent by the bearer hereof a small sample of the Wood that Came out of the Ships bottom that was worme Eaten.

[Addressed]: To Mr. Elias Dupuy in Companie, Merchants, London, By the *Fleet* frigate, Captain Newton, To be delivered by your own hand iff possible, Yours, J: T:

[Endorsed]: Captain Tolson Dec: 25th 1705, per the *Fleet* Frigott, Capt. Newton.

Paper 61.

Captain Tolson's Account Current at Batavia, 1705.

1705	Captain Joseph Tolson	is Dr.	Doll	Sucrs	Satt. ⁴
	To Cash		65	-	-
	To Do.		25	-	-
	To Do.		16	-	-
	To Do.		20	-	-
	To Do.		15	-	-
	To 200 Planks		36	-	-
	To Ocom [oakum]		4	-	-
	To Cash		15	-	-
	To Do.		20	-	-
	To Do. Paide for the Sloop		85	-	-
	To Do. paide to Capt. Keane		200	-	-

modern readers this appears to be a curious attitude, and in this particular case it was indeed fortunate for Bowrey and his fellow owners that the ship and cargo were insured.

¹ See p 252, note 4.

² "Cross trees." This refers to the new and larger cross-trees which were necessary in order to support the new main and fore tops (see p. 251 and notes 1, 4). The two cheeks of either of the lower masts supported two trestle-trees which were set in a fore and aft direction. Above these were laid the two cross-trees, athwart ship, while over all and supported by them all lay the top.

³ See Paper 69.

⁴ "Sucrs., Satt." represent sooka, satallie, both Malay money of account. Sooka, Malay *suku*, a quarter, is two strings or sets of cash; it is the quarter dollar. Satallie, Malay *tali*, a string of cash, is half a *suku* or 12½ cents. See *Indian Antiquary*, XLII, 46, 100, 274; Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, I, 100, 118.

	Doll	Sucrs	Satt
To Do. paide a Carpenter	2	1	-
To Do. paide to Mr. Devenport	23	-	-
To Do. paide for A Peice of Timber	2	1	-
To Do. paide for $\frac{1}{2}$ a Quoine ¹ of Rice	21	-	-
To Do.	15	-	-
To Do. paide Mr. Vanderbugg	150	-	-
To 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Leagers of Arrack and 4 Peculls of sugar	300	-	-
To Cash for Provision	19	-	-
	1033	2	-
To Ballance Due	7191	2	1
	8225	-	1

1705	per Contra	is Cr.	Doll	Suc	Sa.
By Cash			2406	1	-
By Gold			599	-	-
By 372 $\frac{1}{2}$ Peculls of Lead at 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ doll per pecoll			1536	2	-
By 20 Iron Gunns, wtt. 88 cwt 3 qr. 3 li. att 6 doll.					
per cwt.			532	2	-
By 63 Hogsheads of Beare att 20 drs. per hd.			1260	-	-
By 10 Pecoll 111 li. of Cloves att 120 drs. per					
[Pecoll]			1303	3	-
By Cash			146	1	-
By Do. recd. from Capt. Keane			44	-	-
By 10 Anckors wtt. 66 cwt. 0 qr. 13 li. att 6 dollrs.					
per cwt.			396	3	-
			8225	0	1

Paper 62.

[George Dungey's Clearance Certificate.]

Yorke Fort [Bencoolen] May the 13th 1705².

These are to Certifie whom itt may Concerne that I, George Dungey, have served in the Quality of A Second Mate and Gunner on bord the Good Ship *Mary Galley* from the 16th of October 1704/5 to the 8th of May 1705. Arriveing safe in Bencolen Roade, the Ship *Sarum* being there and Wanting A Cheife Mate, I requested of Captn. Joseph Tolson my Discharge. Itt being upon my Preferment, hee Granted itt, which I took as a Greate favour, not as I left Capt. Tolson upon Any Abuse or Ill useage, but upon my Owne request, being upon Preferment: GEORGE DUNGEY. This is the true Copy.

[Endorsed]: Mr. Dungey's clearing.

¹ "Quoine," coyan, *coyang*, a measure of weight of 2 tons 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

² This paper was probably attached to one of Tolson's letters from Calcutta in support of his statements as to Dungey.

Paper 63.

[Clearance Certificate of Joseph Dupuy¹.]

(a)

York Fort [Bencoolen] May the 10. 1705.

These are to Certify whome itt may Concerne that I Joseph Dupuy, att present Second Supra Cargo of the Ship *Mary Gally*, doth Demand my Clearance From the Said Ship and Business as afforesaid Supra Cargoe, and that I doe hereby declare that Captain Joseph Tolson, Commander of the said Ship, hath behaved himself very civilly, and has done to the uttmmost of his power to follow his Instructions, and that itt was by Consent of Captain Joseph Tolson, Joseph Dupuy and Richard Griffin that the said Ship *Mary Gally* came to Bencola, and there had contracted with his Honour Watts, Governour of York Fort, belonging to the Right Honourable East India Company, and that the said Captain Tolson did not dispose or Contract any bargain without making me acquainted with itt, which [is] as Follows:

York Fort May Anno 1705

Owners of the Ship		Per Contra	
<i>Mary Gally</i>	Dr.		Cr.
To Cloves For Pecolls		By 5 Chests Claricett	
[pikul] 16. 111 pounds		wine qt 64 doz. & 10	
Per 120 Dutch Dollers		p. att 7 Doll. Per doz.	448 2 -
Per Pecoll . . .	1040 2 -	By 5 Do. brown bear qt	
		64 & 3 ps. att 3½ per	
To ½ a Leager of Arrack	24 0 -	Doz	208 3 1
		By 1 Do. pale Bear qt.	
		12 doz. att 4½ Per Doz.	51 - -
To a Dupper ² of Countiy		By 3 Do. Ale qt. 38 doz.	
Powder wtt. 1 10 at 9		& 3 ps.	162 2 -
dollers per pecoll . .	9 3 1	By 3 hhd. Cape Wine att	
		65 Doll: Per Dozen. .	195 - -
		By 2 Cask of Bear att 30	
	1074 1 1	doll. Per Cask	60 - -
		By a Gross of Knives . .	38 2 -
To Cash paid For Bal-		By 4 Caggs ³ of bird	
lance	103 1 -	Shott wtt. 2 cwt	13 1 -
	1177 2 1		1177 2 1

And all other Bargaines whatsoever my hand is too, to this present Date, and I leave this present business upon no other Reason then Thinking of better preferment according to my

¹ This document and the next (Paper 64) were attached to Tolson's letters from Batavia dated 28 July 1706, *post*, Paper 72.

² Dupper, dubba (Hind. *dabba*), a leather bottle or skin bag.

³ "Caggs" is apparently an error for "kegs."

apprehension, and that I positively declare that I will not proceed any farther in the said *Mary Gally*, allthough entreated Per Captain Joseph Tolson to Relinquish my Desier of Leaving the Ship and afforementioned Business of Supra Cargo, and that I will deliver to the said Joseph Tolson all papers and books concerning the said Business, excepting my Own Books of Accounts, of what is passed in the *Mary Gally* since our departure from England.

J. D.

Signed and attested in the presence of

Richard Watts¹

Charles Wheeler

John Delapie

(b)

York Fort May the 11. 1705.

These are to Certify that I whose name is here underwritten, doe hereby acknowledge that I cam out of England in the Ship *Mary Gally*, Captain Joseph Tolson Commander, contrary to my Inclination, and that I Leave the said Ship with my own Accord, and I Returne att my Pleasure.

JOS. DUPUY

Paper 64.

[Joseph Dupuy's Report to Bowrey from Bencoolen.]

Bancolen the 20 Juin 1705.

Sir, Since our last² we have not being favoured with any, from the wich shall cause brevity. This shall only be to Inform you that in Settling the Accounts that the weights of the Spanish Ps. § did not agree We made by our Weight but 814 Ounces and 942 ps. by tale³. I cannot tell where the error Should be. You delivered them to Mr. Griffin all Sealed, and he kept them unto his Custody till they were Delivered to Capt. Tolson. There was one of the baggs wich was burst in Mr. Griffin[s] Chest wich, has he says, had received Damage by Saltwater.

I have no more att present only Referr my Self to the Generall Letter and So Remain Sir: Your most Humble Servant, JOSEPH DUPUY.

[Endorsed]: Mr. Dupuy, June 20th 1705 about the dollers wanting.

[Addressed]: To Captn. Thomas Bowrey, in Well Close Square, London.

¹ Chief of the Company's factory at Bencoolen. See *ante*, p. 249, note 1.

² From the Cape, in January 1704/5 (Paper 57).

³ The Secret Trade Orders (Paper 46) shows 855 ounces, but does not give the number of pieces.

Paper 65.

[Letter from Elias Grist to Captain Bowrey from Batavia.]

Batavia, January the 17th 1705/6.

Capt. Bowrey, Sir, I thought itt proper to Informe You that our Ship Goeing for Bengall in the Service of Mr. Jno. Moor, Merchant here¹ (Leaving me behinde, through an Unlucky Accident), here were some Letters for you and some other of the Owners left in the abovesaid Merchants handes by Capt. Tolson, with a small matter of Tea, Lacquer and China Ware, which he Thought might be acceptable to your Lady, to be Sent home by the first Opportunity. And in Order theretoo, upon the Arrival of the *Dover* here, Mr. Moor spoke to Capt. Garraway [of the *Dover*] about itt, but Received an Unexpected Answer, *Vizt.*, that he would neither take or Suffer to be Taken on board, either Letters, or any other Individuall matter, wherein he might Seem to serve Capt. Tolson. The Occasion of his Aversion I am sensible of, soe cannot Impute itt to any Brutishness in his Temper. However, I being Sensible of this, and well knowing the Import of the Letters, went to the Merchants and had the Letters delivered to mee and Clapping a Direction to Mr Hammond over the Direction to you, delivered them to a private person (by name Mr. Jones) as my Letters, which he promist to putt into the Post Office, as Soon as arrived in England².

Sir, I have nothing to Informe you of more, save that the Merchant Expects the Ship here in next March³. What ever must doe then God knowes, for our Stock's produce, with the rest of our Treasure, will not purchase a Cargoe here to Answer your Expectation.

However, hoping for the best, I Conclude with all due Respects, Sir, Your most humble Servant, ELIAS GRIST.

Sir, pray Give my Service to Mr. Hammond, &c.

[Addressed]: To Capt. Tho: Bowrey, Att his house in Well Close Square, Near Rattcliffhighway, London.

¹ John Moor, the merchant with whom Tolson made a trading agreement (Paper 68).

² Tolson's letter to Bowrey, dated 5 September 1705 from Batavia, seems to have reached the addressee by this means, if we are to trust Bowrey's endorsement of the document.

³ The *Mary Galley* returned to Batavia from Calcutta about April 1706.

Paper 66.

[Ralph Sheldon's Invoice of Goods on the
Mary Galley.]

Culcutta, February 15th 1705/6.

INVOICE of goods provided for Capt. Tolson by Ralph Sheldon
particulers, *Vist*

Ophium three chests 6 mds at 130 rs.				
per md.	.	.	780	- -
Sorting 8 a. per md	.	.	3	- -
Packing 8 per Chest	.	.	1 8	-
			4 8	-
Sannoos ¹ Ballasore				
20 ps cost	.	.	107	8 -
Gurrahs ² 20 ps	.	.	20	- -
Sugar Cuttrung ³ one bag	.	.	8	8 -
Rattans 100	.	.	8	-
Persia Salt 4 md.	.	.	2	8 -
Dungaree ⁴ [torn] ps.	.	.	25	- -
Gunnys ⁵ 60 ps.	.	.	7	8 -
Gunny bags 20	.	.	2	- -
			173	8 -
			958	- -
Commission 5 per Cent			47	14 4
			Rupees	1005 14 4

Errors excepted: Per RALPH SHELDON.

Additional Correspondence from Batavia.

In addition to the two letters from Calcutta and the correspondence relating thereto, there are two copies, not quite identical, of a letter from the ship to Bowrey. One of these is dated Batavia 2 September 1705, the date on which

¹ Sannoos, *sānu*, fine cotton cloth.

² Gurrahs, *garha*, coarse cotton goods.

³ That is, sugar from "Cuttrung," not now identifiable, on the western, old, branch of the Hugli. Compare Alexander Hamilton, *East Indies*, II, 4. "Bussundri and Tresinddi, or Gorgat and Cottrung, are in that River, which produce the greatest Quantities of the best Sugars in Bengal." I am indebted to Mr C. E. A. W. Oldham for this note.

⁴ Dungaree, *dangrī*, sailcloth, coarse cotton goods.

⁵ Gunnys, *gonī*, sacking.

Tolson left that place, and is endorsed by Bowrey "Captain Tolson, Batavia, Sep: 2d 1705." The other copy, which contains an additional sentence and a postscript, and is the one reproduced below, is dated 5 September 1705. As will be seen from the endorsement, it reached Bowrey through Captain Garraway and was probably written at sea while Tolson was on the way from Batavia to Calcutta, but as the substance was similar to the earlier letter, it was found convenient to date it as from Batavia. How the earlier copy reached Bowrey does not appear, and there is a difficulty with regard to the later one, for if it were written at sea, it could not have been transmitted by the *Dover*, Captain Garraway's ship, then lying at Batavia, unless we may assume that it was sent back thither from Bantam Point, the last place touched by the *Mary Galley* as she was leaving Java (Paper 59).

The letter of 5 September relates very briefly the story of the outward journey, most of which is to be found at greater length in the Calcutta letters (Papers 59 and 60), and it purports to enclose two accounts connected with the cargo at Bencoolen and Bantall, which are not now available. It also states that on 24 April Tolson anchored in Sillebar road, "where I found the *Dover*," and it must have been here that he came to loggerheads with Captain Garraway of that ship, as we learn from Elias Grist's letter from Batavia (Paper 65).

Tolson further relates mishaps at Batavia that made him "Except of the Articles [accept the agreement] Inclosed." The memorandum of the agreement has survived, and from it we see that he entered into a somewhat large covenant with two merchants, John Moor and Charles Bugden, on 7 August, O.S., 1705. The "Articles" are a good sample of the legal aspect of business done in the East in the earlier days of English trade there, and well illustrate the uncertainties and the hazards of that trade, which cannot have been much relieved for the layman by the involved language then habitual in legal documents, possibly as the result of an attempt to attain certainty where that was not possible.

Paper 67.

[Letter from Tolson to Bowrey dated as from Batavia¹.]

Batavia the 5th September 1705.

Sirs, I send you these lines, begging your pardon that att present I cannot give you a more full Account of our proceedings. I have here inclosed his honour Watts Account Curant² and Mr. Bugdens Chief at Bantal³.

I found in my Outward bound passage a great unconvenience by the Want of tops and Riging to secure my topmast⁴. I caryed away 2 topmasts outward bound⁵, and for want of riging to secure them, I never was able to Carry what Sayle was Convenient to gain a passage, which together with the Contrary Winds I met with, made my passage very tedious.

The 24 of Aprill I Anchored in Sillybar road⁶ (where I found the *Dover*, Captain Garway⁷), wich is about 16 Miles from Bencola The Governour sent horses for us the next day. In that place my people begun to be very sickly. I had some dealings with the Governour as you see by the Relation that I had⁸.

We thought it the best to proceed to the Northward, although our time in our Instructions was out. In so doing I found my Self in a great eror, for Padang, it is not the place it is represented for the taking of Europe Goods, it being small and a place of little Consumation, there being not above 8 or 10 people of note. I could have had 400 pecull of Benjamin⁹, but the price being high, did not deall with them. I did not sell above 500 dollars worth of Goods, wich made me heartily repent my Comeing there. I toke Gould wich I sold for 23 per Cent. at Batavia, where finding my bear [beer] to sower, I made all the Expedition to sell, which I did,

¹ See *ante*, pp. 263, note 2, and 265, for remarks on the date and provenance of this document.

² Not now available.

³ It is uncertain whether Tolson means that Charles Bugden was "Chief" at Bantall or whether the account was with Bugden's "Chief," *i. e.* chief agent or representative. The former is unlikely as the English had no settlement at Bantall, and Bugden had only recently resigned the Company's service (see note 3 on Paper 68 below).

⁴ See *ante*, pp. 236, 251, 257.

⁵ These accidents occurred on 10 December 1704 and 26 January 1704/5 (see Papers 57 and 59).

⁶ Sillebar Road, an anchorage for Bencoolen. The Dutch had a settlement there.

⁷ The *Dover*, an East India Company's ship, was taken by pirates in 1707/8.

⁸ This should read: "as you see by the relations I had with him."

⁹ Benjamin, benzoin, incense from the resin of the *Styrax benzoin*.

strong and small together, for 40 dollars per but; the lead [also] att 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ dr. per pecull, [and] the Guns and Anchors 6d per 112 ²*h*. as marked.

Here I found my Ship to be in great danger of the Worme, wick made me make all the haste I could to gett her Sheathed, and her mainmast being Sprung [cracked] in the head I was forced to gett it out¹ and Check [cheek] it². It hath not proved good, Severall pluges Starting out of it which he had Cut in the fitteag³.

I have had here, you may Judge, no little trouble, having not had above 3 people besides my Self well in the highth of my buysines. In the night I went on Shoar and in the day on board to Stow my Ship, both of my Mates being Sick and Mr. Dupuy having the Ague.

Mr. Vankester⁴ whome I had a letter for and a box and hamper, from whom I expected Assistance, died Comeing on shore in the boat, after the Receipt of the letter. These disapointments made me Except of the Articles Inclosed⁵ of wick money I have paid in \$7191. 2. 1., and I have left on Shoar with him [John Moor] 7 hogshead of Cape wyne, 22 baggs of Shot [and] the bayle of Spanish Rushees [rashes] to dispose on [*sic*, of] for us and to be Accounted att our Return. And I have on board all the Glas ware, 10 leagers Arrack, 50 pecull of Peper.

On the Ships Account I paid $\frac{5}{8}$ of a dollar⁶ for Carpenters and Corkers per day. I Sheathed her all with teek board⁷. All wick Account I, God willing, will give you in my next, and I hope you will pardon my Shortness and Consider my trouble and hast and not Impute it to be any Neglect.

In great haste we Conclude⁸, hoping in Short time to give you a fu[r]ther account

JOS. TOLSON

JOSEPH DUPUY

RICHD. GRIFFIN

¹ "Gett it out," lift the main mast out of its stepping, by rigging temporary sheers, and lower it on deck so that the carpenters could get to the head or upper portion

² See p. 250, n. 6.

³ The other copy of the letter has "Fiteag" Tolson probably meant to write "Fitting." The sense seems to be that several of the original plugs, employed to hold the old cheeks to the mast, or for other purposes, had been cut through by the carpenter when fitting the new cheeks, and had consequently since worked loose.

⁴ See *ante*, n. 2 on p. 250.

⁵ See Paper 68.

⁶ The meaning is $\frac{5}{8}$ of a piece of $\frac{3}{4}$, i.e. of a dollar.

⁷ See p. 250, n. 5. Tolson does not mean that he completely sheathed the ship with teak boards, but that all the upper sheathing which he added was of teak.

⁸ See note 1, p. 268.

Mr. Grist is Left att Batavia¹.

We have Sent you a Case of the best Arrack.

'Addressed] · To Capt. Thomas Bowrey in Well Close Square near London².

[Endorsed in Bowrey's hand]: Capt. Tolson Sept. 5th 1705 per Capt. Garraway from France came open.

Paper 68.

[Articles of Agreement at Batavia.]

ARTICLES of Agreement between Mr. J. M. and C. B. at Batavia on one part and J. T., J. D., E. G. and R. G. on the other party³ is Such that the Said J. T. &c. will make ready the Ship *Mary Gally* to take in Goods or Merchandises, Such as the Said J. M., &c. Shall put on board in Order to depart this place by the 20th August O.S. 1705 for Bengal⁴, winds and Accidents Excepted, there to remain if required three months and fifteen dayes after our Arrivall att Calcutta⁵, in order to take in a Cargo as shall be purchased by J. T., C. B., &c., or whom the Said J. M. Shall Appoint.

The Said J. T. Comander doth Oblige himself to Sign bills of Lading for all Goods to C. B. or his Order and to deliver the Said Goods to J. M. or his Assigns at the Arrivall of the Said Ship att Batavia [from Bengal], they Given [giving] Security for the payment of fifteen thousand five hundred Rix Dollars.

In Such Case J. T., J. D., &c. shall pay to Mr. J. M. before the Departure of the Ship the Sum of Seven thousand five hundred

¹ The concluding remarks "In great haste we Conclude" and "Mr. Grist is Left att Batavia" support the view that this copy of the letter was written on board the *Mary Galley* on her way to Calcutta. It is possible that it was taken ashore by Moor and Bugden when they left the ship as related by Tolson in Paper 59, *ante*, p. 256, at "Bantam Point."

² This letter and the other copy of the same is in the hand of Joseph Dupuy

³ The parties to the agreement were (1) John Moor, of whom I have found no mention elsewhere. He was probably a free merchant trading in Batavia. (2) Charles Bugden, son of Edmund Bugden, who had served the Company for fifteen years at Fort St George, had resigned the service in February 1704/5 (*Coast and Bay Abstracts*, para. 45 of Letter of 15 Jan. and 14/15 Feb. 1704/5) and was then trading on his own account. (3) Joseph Tolson. (4) Joseph Dupuy. (5) Elias Grist. (6) Richard Griffin. All those "on the other party" belonged to the *Mary Galley*

⁴ The ship, however, did not leave till 2 September 1705.

⁵ The *Mary Galley* actually stayed at Calcutta for three months, from 16 November 1705 till 15 February 1705/6. See *ante*, p. 247.

Rix Dollars. We doe likewise Oblige our Selves to pay to the Said C. B., or order, all Such monies in Bengal as shall be the produce of our Goods, over and above the Sum of one thousand Dollars and the Ships Charges. The said C. B. or his Assigns shall pay at Batavia for each Rupee Bengal one Suratts Rupee¹ to J. T., J. D. &c.

In case the said C. B. or other Assigns of the Said J. M. Cannot procure a Cargo in order to depart Calcutta in the terme of three months and fifteen Dayes after our arrival there, then the Said J. M. or his Assigns Shall pay three and twenty Dollars per Day as Demorage till Such time as dispatches shall be Given for the departure of the Said Ship for Batavia. But in case the Said Ship should not be ready to proceed for Batavia when dispatcht, then to pay Mr. J. M. or his Assigns twenty three Dollars per Day till Departure.

In case the said Cargo be not on board by the 20th of March 1705/6 Old Stile, that then the Said Captain J. T. &c. hath Liberty to depart, and make the best of his way for Batavia, and in the Space of one month after arrivall there, the said Mr. J. M. or his Assigns shall pay to J. T., J. D., &c. the Sum of fifteen Thousand five hundred Rix Dollars, and demoreage, till Clear of the Land of Bengal, after the Rate of twenty three Dollars per Day, over and Above the Sum of fifteen thousand five hundred Rix Dollars.

In case the said Ship should meet with Accidents whereby She may be disabled from Performing the Voyage to Batavia, that then the said J. M. shall [not] be Obligated to Stay for the Said Ship Longer then the 20th March 1705/6, and after that, if he shall think fitting, have Leave to withdraw all Effects out of the Said Ship *Mary Gally*, to dispose of them as shall be thought Convenient by the said C. B. or his Assigns, they paying to the said Captain J. T., J. D., &c. all Such Moneys of there's as shall have been received by Mr. J. M. or C. D., and all former Contracts to be Voyd.

It is further agreed that all Contracts in Bengal shall be made in the Name of J. T., C. B., &c., the said J. T., &c. made Creditor for the Same, for which the said Jo: T., C. B., and J. D., &c. Shall be Accountable for to Mr. J. M. or his Assigns, and that no Goods nor Merchandises Shall be Lading on board the *Mary Gally* but by the Consent of C. B. or his Assigns, except what shall be procured by the Sum of one thousand Dollars, and that the Said Captain J. T., &c. hath Liberty to invest one thousand Dollars

¹ This seems to indicate that Bengal rupees, though generally reckoned as of rather higher value than Surat rupees, were not current in Batavia.

not to Exceed the Quantity of four tonns, but if Saltpeter, not above ten tonns, and that the said Captain J. T., &c. and his people shall give all the Assistance reasonably, if required, and that the said J. M., &c. Shall be at no Expence to above [beyond] the Amount of one Chest of Wine as presents for the liberty of trade, and the Said C. B. or his Assigns shall allow such Goods as is proper for to make the ship fitt for the Sea, and that Captain J. T. hath Liberty to take ten Leagers of Arrack to Carry to Bengal for his Account.

And it is further agreed that in case the Said Ship *Mary Gally* meet with any Accidents during her Voyage to Bengal, whereby she should not Arrive at Calcutta before the Month of January 1705 [1705/6], if a Cargo Cannot be procured time Enough to depart by the last of March 1706, that then the Said Ship *Mary Gally*, Capt. J. T., J. D., &c. shall stay att Calcutta in Bengal till the Month of August 1706, and not demand at there arrivall att Batavia demoreage for above three Months at twenty three Dollars per Day, and that said C. B. and Servant shall have passage free.

For the Performance of these Articles we bind our Selves, Administrators and Assigns to pay twenty Thousand Dollars if not Complied with as afore mentioned.

In Wittness our hands this 7 day of August 1705 Old Style

J[ohn] M[oor]
C[harles] B[ugden]
[on the one part]
J[oseph] T[olson]
J[oseph] D[upuy]
R[ichard] G[riffin]
[on the other part]

[Endorsed]: Articles made at Batavia [and signed by both parties].

Paper 69.

[Accounts of the Resheathing of the
Mary Galley at Batavia.]

There is preserved an account¹ for the sheathing of the *Mary Galley* at Batavia signed by Tolson, Dupuy and Griffin. The total charge for labour and material was £428. 1s. 2d., "Besides all the Expences of our own stores and 218 pound of Sixpeny nayles Granted me by his honour Watts, Governor of York Fort at Bencola."

¹ The full details have not been printed.

Correspondence in reply to Tolson's Letter from the Cape of Good Hope.

Connected with the voyage out there are preserved two letters from the owners of the *Mary Galley* to Tolson and the ship, dated 12 November 1705 and 20 November 1706, a year apart. They both acknowledge the receipt of Tolson's letter from the Cape of Good Hope, dated 26 January 1704/5, and are interesting as illustrations of the difficulty of correspondence with ships trading to the East at that time, and of the patience that had to be exercised by their owners in England. The second letter is largely a copy of the first, and most of it therefore has not been printed.

It will be observed that Bowrey adheres to his practice of giving instructions to Tolson, despite the chances of the advice being useless to him. It will also be observed that the letters are addressed to Tolson, Dupuy and Griffin, in ignorance of the fact that Dupuy had quarrelled with Tolson and had temporarily left the ship at Batavia.

Both letters are sent to meet Tolson at the Cape of Good Hope, and with the caution necessary in the early eighteenth century, are transmitted in duplicate by separate ships. In addition, a third copy of the first is sent by ship to Madeira.

The first letter contains a notice of the murder of Captain Green of the *Worcester* and two of his officers: "Capt. Green and his Cheif Mate and Gunner is hanged in Scotland, very unjustly, and we have lost the *Worcester* and Cargo there. Therefore, avoid Scotland"; and no wonder. The second letter says: "Wee have a great prospect of Peace with France," which, however, did not take place till 1713, to the great disaster of the *Mary Galley*.

Besides the letters printed below, Bowrey wrote a letter "To Thos. Studds on board the *Mary Gally* Capt. Jos. Tolson, Comander in Batavia," of which only the portion containing the address has survived.

Paper 70.

[Letter from Bowrey to Tolson in reply to Letter from the Cape of Good Hope.]

London the 12th Nov. 1705.

Capt. Jos: Tolson, Mr. Jos: Dupuy & Mr. Richd. Griffin, Sirs, Wee received yours from the Cape, when Outward bound, and hope this will meet you there in your Voiage homeward where, if you are soon enough, we would have you come in Company with the Dutch Ships for Rotterdam, and if not, we would have you follow the directions already given for your Voiage homeward in your Instructions.

Capt. Green and his Cheif Mate and Gunner is hanged in Scotland, very unjustly, and we have lost the *Worcester* and Cargo there¹. Therefore, avoid Scotland.

Saltpetre and most Sorts of India Goods is rather dearer then when you went out. Wee apprehend wee have had some Letters Intercepted by the East India Company, therefore would not have you write us of any Transactions of your Voiage, but when have opportunity, to write us only where you are and to send an account of what goods then aboard for our Accounts, and at the first Port you come to in Holland, England or Ireland, to send Mr. Grist and Mr. Dupuy up to us to give us an account of all matters of the Voiage, [but only to us]².

We hope a happy meeting here and are Your Loving Freinds

THOS. BOWREY
THOS. HAMMOND
EL. DUPUY
GEO: JACKSON

To Capt. Jos. Tolson Comander of the *Mary Gally* from India to be left at the Cape of Good Hope with the Dutch Wine Merchant. [Sent] per Mr. Jno. Rogers Q.D.G.³ in the *Liampo* and per [blank] in the *Windsor Gally* per Mr. G. Jackson's cover to Madera, per Thos. Davis in the *Dartmouth*⁴.

¹ See *ante*, pp. 113, 144, 148, 153.

² These words are taken from the second letter.

³ *Qui Dieu garde.*

⁴ The *Liampo*, *Windsor* and *Dartmouth* were all East India Company's ships, commanded respectively by Captains Thomas Monck, Zachary Tovey and Thomas Beckford.

Paper 71.

London the 20th Nov. 1706.

Capt. Jos. Tolson, Mr. Jos. Dupuy and Mr. Richd. Griffin and Mr. Elias Grist.

Sirs, Wee received yours from the Cape when outward bound, and from Bengal per *Rising Sun*¹.

* * * * *

Mrs. Tolson and all Freinds or Relations of the ships Company that we know of are alive and well.

Wee have a great prospect of a Peace with France, but it is what you must not depend on, but act with all the Caution of Warr. If you meet any advice that gives you a very good Assurance of Peace, then would have you come directly for London, where God send you safe to Your Loving Freinds

T. B[OWREY].

T. HAMMOND

EL. DUPUY

G. JACKSON

Sent by Capt. Read on the *John and Elizabeth* and by Captn. South in the *Chambers* Frigate².

¹ This shows how Tolson sent his letter of 26 January 1705/6 to Bowrey.

² Captain Alexander Read commanded the *John and Elizabeth*, a separate stock ship, of which John Scattergood, a free merchant, was part-owner, at any rate up to 1712 (*Scattergood Papers*, collected by Mr Bernaid P. Scattergood)

The *Chambers* frigate commanded by Captain Thomas South was an E.I. Co.'s ship.

CHAPTER IV

PAPERS RELATING TO THE VOYAGE FROM CALCUTTA TO BATAVIA IN THE SPRING OF 1706

TOLSON left Calcutta on or about 15 February 1706 and must have gone straight to Batavia, arriving probably some time in April, for we know from Paper 87 (p. 313) that demurrage at that place was payable from 24 May, and on 28 July 1706 he wrote to Bowrey saying that to his "Great Dissatisfaction" he was still there. In that letter he reported that "the Gentleman that made the Contract with me [John Moor] . . . promises to Dispatch me in a very shorte Time, and for some Reasons beleive he will performe it."

He then tells us the truth about Joseph Dupuy, the son of Elias Dupuy, one of the owners of the *Mary Galley*, shipped as a second supercargo, apparently to please his father. He seems to have been a thoroughly unsatisfactory young man, and to have misbehaved himself at Bencoolen and Batavia on the way out to Calcutta. He borrowed money from any one who would lend and on any terms available. In Calcutta he was arrested for debt, "300 and odd Rupees" incurred at "all the Punch houses in Town," for which Tolson, as his captain, had to "Give them a Bond." The same thing happened on the return of the *Mary Galley* to Batavia. After this last escapade Tolson had had enough of him, and on 28 July 1706 a formal document setting forth his dismissal was signed by Tolson, Griffin and Grist. He was, however, only dismissed from his post as supercargo and not from the ship, as he was on board when she was subsequently captured off the coast of Denmark and gave evidence with regard to that occurrence. In his letter Tolson also reports that Archibald Whitman, the acting boatswain, of whom he spoke so highly in his letter from Calcutta on 12 December 1705, was dead, and had been succeeded by John Mitchell, and that John Painter was dangerously ill. Otherwise he himself, his

mates (Richard Griffin and Benoni Hancock), the purser (Elias Grist), the doctor (John Elliott), the carpenter (Jarrad Cutberson) and the midshipman (Thomas Studds) were all well, and he had his "Complement: all English Except 2." His ship was also in "a very good Condition" and his men "in health."

Besides the two letters from England dated 12 November 1705 and 20 November 1706, sent to meet Tolson on his way home, should he touch at the Cape or at Madeira (Papers 70 and 71), two identical letters, dated respectively 31 May 1706 and 30 May 1707 (Paper 74) were sent to await the captain if he put in at Amsterdam or Rotterdam with the Dutch fleet. In these letters, too, Joseph Dupuy is one of the persons addressed.

John Moor carried out his promise and despatched Tolson from Batavia on 12 August 1706, as we learn from the document previously noted, which was drawn up in England in 1708 (Paper 87), and though no correspondence on the subject is extant, we also learn from the *Fort St George Diary* (*Madras Public Consultations*, vol. 83) that the "Ship *Mary Gally* belonging to the Seperate Stock arrived from Bencoolen [*sic* ?Batavia]" on 16 October 1706, and on 24 October there is an entry in the same *Diary*: "Ship *Mary Gally* saild for Bengall." Then in the *Fort William Diary* for ?14 November 1706, we find (*Bengal Public Consultations*, vol. 1): "The *Mary Gally*, Captain Tolson, arrived here from Batavia butt touched last att Madrass." Lastly, under date 18 January 1706/7, is the entry: "The *Mary Gally*, a Separate Stock Ship, Captain Toulson, fell down the river bound for England." So Tolson's procedure really was that he left Batavia the second time for Madras and Calcutta in August 1706, and either returned to Batavia a third time, or joined the Dutch fleet at some unspecified place in order to sail to England under its convoy in 1707.

Paper 72.[Tolson's Letter to Bowrey from Batavia¹.]

[Batavia, 28th July 1706.]

Hond: Sir, I Send you these Lines to Informe You that, to my Great Dissatisfaction, I Remain in this Port [Batavia] still.

In my last² I Gave you an Account of our Intent to Goe for Benjar³, but not being able to procure Spannish Money and the Exchange goeing soe high as 33 per Cent, that is 133 Rix Dollers For 100 Spannish Dollers, mad[e] me alter my Resolution, and I made a Verball Contract with the same Gentleman as I Dealt with before⁴ for 2000 Pecoll of Sugar att 4 Dollers and $\frac{1}{4}$ Rr.⁵ per Pecoll, to be putt on board by the 10 of June, and 100 pecoll of Benjamin att 35 Rix Dollers per Pecoll. The Rest of my Money I Reserved to Invest in other Goods fitt for Suratt, For which Place I Design'd the Cargoe, but the Strickness of the [Dutch] Government's⁶ Inspecting into the Trade of the English has been such that I have not yett on board above 500 pecoll of Sugar and 200 pecoll of Sugar Candy and 105 pecoll of Benjamin

The Gentleman that made the Contract with me has been very Delatory to my Great Discomfort, next to the Pointe of Despair. He promises to Dispatch me in a very shorte Time, and for some Reasons beleive he will performe it.

I have on board about 8 pecoll of Spice, 100 pecoll of long pepper, 25 pecoll of Long Turmerick and Some Round Pepper, and I hope in a Short Time to Give you a farther Account of our proceedings, and with the help of God to make the best of our way for England.

Mr. Dupuy has been very unserviceable and pernicious to the Ships Interest, as will by his Actions appear, to my Great Dissatisfaction, that I can no longer hide his base and Ridiculous Actions, as will herein appear. Att my arrivall at Bencola he refused to proceed any farther with me, and Gave me under his

¹ This letter is in Griffin's handwriting, for Dupuy, who had hitherto acted as secretary, was now debarred from participating in the business of the ship.

² Not now available.

³ Banjarmasin in South Borneo, about 550 miles from Batavia.

⁴ John Moor. See Paper 68.

⁵ By "Rr." Griffin seems to mean rix dollar. If so, the price would read $4\frac{1}{4}$ rix dollars.

⁶ Batavia was the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in India and the residence of their Director-General. The factory at Jakatra, subsequently named Batavia, was founded by Pieter Both in 1619.

hande the Inclosed papers¹. Att my Returne from Padang to Bencola he had by his unbecoming Behaviour and Extravagancys made himself odious to the Governour and Gentlemen of the place, and by Sickness did appear like a Ghoast, and in Reputation like a Vagabond, which made my heart bleed to see him in such a Condition, soe that att his Request and For his Father's Sake², I received him on board, For which he hath given me a great deal of Reason to Repent itt.

Att my Arrivall att Batavia, most of my men being Sick, and Bussiness laying heavy upon mee, my Mates and Mr. Grist being likewis Sick, he pretending to be Indispos'd, he went to the Gentleman I dealt with [John Moor] and took 25 Dollers, as he pretended, For my Use. I order'd the Gentleman to Lett him have no more, but he, under pretence of a bill Drawn that would be accepted In Bengall, Gott 330 Dollers of the said Gentleman, and in Bengall, as I suppose, he sold the said bill, if he had such a bill.

When I was ready to Sail [from Calcutta] he came to me, being followed by a Serjeant and a File of Musqueeters, and told me he was sent For by the Cheif [of the Factory]. Att which I answered, "What have you done?" And he Told me, "Nothing" I asked him if he owed any body any money, and he said, "No" Soc I went to the Cheif with him, and all the Punch houses³ in Town came in with their bills upon him, to the Value of 300 and odd Rupees, besides all other Debts to other Gentlemen, which he had with Lying and Weedling Gott of them, in which faculty he is become as perfect a Master in as any Kidnapper⁴ in London.

The Cheif in Bengall made me Give them a Bond for the Money, of which I doe not Question but you have an Account before this time. And here [in Batavia] he hath made himself soe rediculous that there is not One Gentleman nor Sayler of whome he could borrow money or moneys worth, that [?with whom] he hath not used all Deceitfull wayes immaginable to Accomplish his End; and [he] hath Gone on board of other Ships

¹ See Paper 63. This remark shows how Dupuy's Clearance Certificate, given at Bencoolen, reached Bowrey.

² This statement, taken with Dupuy's own story (Paper 63) seems to point to the fact that pressure had been brought to bear upon Tolson to accept Dupuy as second supercargo and upon Dupuy to agree to serve in that capacity.

³ The punch houses, or places where liquor was dispensed under the Company's supervision, were farmed out to certain individuals, who renewed their licenses yearly.

⁴ The term "Kidnapper" seems to be used here as synonymous with "rogue." The *O.E.D.* has no example of its employment in this sense.

and bought Chests of Wine. But as itt happned, I had notice of itt and they stopped them.

This and the like has occasioned me a great deal of Trouble, and the Subander¹ has sent me one Bill of one of the Publick houses, with order to pay it, and I expect the rest, soe that I cannot Forbear making you acquainted I have appointed to meet the Gentleman this day, in order to Give him a Bond for the 330 Dollers, and I hope that you will take Care that his [Dupuy's] Father shall discharge the same, as itt was your pleasure to send him with me as my Second, and I for the good of the Voyage Engage my Self in such Cases, [so] that I must either pay or Engage For itt, and if I pay, itt must be out of the Ship's Stock. And itt is hard to pay Permission For money to Trade and such young Fellows drink and whore with the Principall. I never knew of this money he borrowed till he came of[f] Bantam Pointe For Bengall².

My Ship is in a very good Condition, and my men in health. Archibald Whiteman is dead, and I have made John Mitchell Boatswain in his Room³. John Painter⁴ is dangerously sick. I have my Complement: all English Except 2. My Mates, purser, Docter, Carpenter and Thomas Studds are well.

For these Reasons abovementioned wee have thought Fitt in Councill to Exclude him [Joseph Dupuy] From any farther acting in that Station, as the Inclosed⁵ will make it appear, For Fear of Mortality any Farther Dammage should Ensue⁶. I hope to Give you a farther Account in my next.

Since what writt before, have met the Gentleman about the 330 Dollers, but find him Deaf to any Thing of Bonds, soe that after all means and perswasions used, I may assure you I shall be Oblidg'd to pay the Money and 30 Per Cent. for the Use of itt.

After our humble Service to you all, Wee Conclude and Rest,
Sirs, Your humble Servants,

JOS: TOLSON
RICHARD GRIFFIN
ELIAS GRIST

Batavia, *Mary Gally*, July 28, 1706.

¹ *Shāhbāndar*, harbour master (of Batavia)

² This shows that Dupuy rejoined the *Mary Galley* when John Moor and Charles Bugden were put ashore, at the time when Grist missed the ship in her passage from Batavia to Calcutta in 1705 (see Paper 59, p. 256).

³ See Paper 59, note 4 on p. 255.

⁴ John Painter died at Batavia 5 August 1706 (see Paper 23, p. 189).

⁵ See Paper 73 below.

⁶ Tolson appears to mean that he has dismissed Dupuy lest, in the event of his own death, the late second supercargo should work further harm to the ship.

The Inclosed papers, save one, are Copies of them sign'd Per Mr. Dupuy, which now I have on board to produce hereafter¹, if Occasion For it.

[Addressed]: To Capt. Thomas Bowrey, These.

Paper 73.

[Dismissal of Joseph Dupuy at Batavia.]

Whereas Mr. Jos. Dupuy being by the Owners and Proprietors of the Good Ship *Mary Galley* Constituted to Act as Second Supra Cargoe, together with those Commissioned by the Owners of the Saide Ship, For the Manageing of the Saide Ship and Cargoe, hath been found to Act contrary to his saide Comision in Takeing up Money of Merchants dealt with, Unknown to the Persons Comisioned to Act in the Afaire of the said Ship, and Aply'd itt to his Own Use, to the Greate Prejudice of the Owners; an[d Likew]se being Guilty of Seaverall other Misdeameaners quite Contrary to his Commission: For which Reasons heare mentioned wee whose Names are here Under written, for the Benefit of the Owners and all others Concerned in the Above named Ship, Doe wholly Exclude the said Jos. Dupuy from Acting or being any wayes Concerned for the Future in his Aforesaide Imploy as Second Supra Cargoe, as Wittness our hands this 28th Day of July In the Year of our Lord 1706².

JOS: TOLSON

RICHD: GRIFFIN

ELIAS GRIST

Paper 74.

[Letter from England to Tolson, sent to Amsterdam and Rotterdam.]

London the $\frac{31^{th}}{30}$ May $\frac{1706^3}{1707}$

Capt. Jos: Tolson, Mr. Jos: Dupuy & Mr. Rich: Griffin & Mr. El: Grist⁴: Sirs, Expecting your Arrivall in Holland, this is

¹ The "Copies" are those documents connected with Dupuy's Clearance, Paper 63, and also one that has not been printed containing a request that his chest of apparel, etc, may be delivered to him. The other document is the one which is given above, Paper 73.

² This document does not mean that Joseph Dupuy was no longer carried on the ship, but merely that he was precluded from holding the appointment of second supercargo.

³ The document reproduced here is a copy in Bowrey's hand. The double dates seem to show that two identical letters were sent, the one to Amsterdam in 1706 and the other to Rotterdam in 1707.

⁴ The name of Elias Grist, the purser, appears among the addressees for the first time.

to advise you that so soon as you arrive there, we would have Mr. Dupuy and Mr. Grist to come for London by the first Conveyance to give us an Account of all Matters, with an Invoice of the Quantity and Quality of the Cargo then aboard. Give us no Account of Transactions of the Voiage by Letters, for we have reason to think the East India Company Intercepts them, and give a Charge to whoever you dispatch for London not to give any person but ourselves an Account of any Transactions of the Voiage¹.

Wee doe strictly Charge you not to sell or suffer to be sold any thing out of the Ship, considering the Bonds we are Ingaged in to the Contrary. We would have you come with the first Convoy that offers from Holland for the River of Thames where God send you safe to Your Loving Freinds,

THOS. BOWREY

THOS HAMMOND

GEO. JACKSON

ELIAS DUPUY

Sent one Copy under Cover to Mr. Sam Mears² at Amsterdam and one delivered to Mr. [Elias] Dupuy to send to Rotterdam.

¹ As will be seen, these directions are similar to those given in the letter of November 1705 (Paper 70)

² One of Bowrey's business agents at Amsterdam.

CHAPTER V

PAPERS RELATING TO THE CAPTURE OF THE *MARY GALLEY* BY FRENCH PRIVATEERS, OFF THE COAST OF JUTLAND, ON 18 AUGUST 1707

CAPTAIN TOLSON'S movements up to the time he left Calcutta in January 1706/7, to join the Dutch fleet bound for England, have already been traced.

From Paper 78 below we know that the *Mary Galley* sailed in company with her consorts from 10 April until 24 July 1707, and from Paper 99 we learn that the fleet reached the Cape on 25 March and remained there until 23 April, but there are no particulars extant respecting the voyage, or in fact any news whatever in the correspondence available regarding the *Mary Galley* and her crew, until 1 September 1707, when Elias Grist sent a letter to Bowrey and the owners from Dunkirk (Paper 75), announcing the capture of the ship by French privateers off the coast of "Norroway," though, in reality, the capture took place off the coast of Jutland.

Grist's communication is an ill-natured letter, and was apparently written as a reminder that he was a shareholder in the ship and claimed a dividend from whatever might be over from the £4080, which was the capital of the owners as a body. He complains that Tolson would not put into any place in Scotland owing to instructions from Bowrey. Then he narrates how the captain tried to go to Newcastle, but was driven away by French privateers, and how, finally, the ship was captured (as he says) off the Norwegian coast. In this letter Grist clearly shows that he nursed a grievance against his fellow owners as to "Injustice Done me relating to the Commission," *i.e.* with regard to his being at first debarred from a share in the ship's management, and he tried to lay the blame of the ship's capture on them for ordering Tolson not to land in Scotland, although the reason for this was, as

he must have known, that the fate of the *Worcester* and Captain Green showed that Scotland was then an unsafe country for an English ship to visit.

It is most unfortunate for the present purpose that three letters from Tolson about the capture have not survived, for there is nothing extant from him at that time except answers to letters from Bowrey, also missing but clearly based on communications on the subject of the seizure of the ship.

The first letter from Tolson (Paper 76) is dated 13 October 1707 from "Dunkirk hospitall," where he was lying suffering from a severe wound in one of his legs, just below the knee, received in his encounter with the French privateers in the North Sea. In this he promises, "when Ready by a Note Republike [notary public]," an affidavit as to how he got separated from the Dutch fleet and also a statement as to what cargo was on board on "the owners proper account." The letter, too, discloses the fact that Tolson had had a quarrel with Griffin the mate and Grist the purser, besides the continuance of his old one with Dupuy the dismissed supercargo, and also that the ship's papers were destroyed by the privateers, "save the invoyce off some good[s] purchased in Bengall, which the Judge [at Dunkirk] told mee was gone to Paris." Grist in his letter shows that there were disputes with Tolson in the North Sea about putting into a port in Scotland and about the general course of the ship, and the quarrels no doubt arose then. From this letter also, and from Grist's, we learn that the fight with the privateers must have been a severe one, as Francis Whitton the tailor was killed, while Tolson himself and nine men were wounded, of whom two Dutchmen, Godfrey and Keirckson, died soon afterwards: and this out of a total crew of 24, as we learn from an existing communication, written on 15 November by Tolson (Paper 77) while still in prison at Dunkirk.

By May 1708 Tolson had been released and had had an interview with Bowrey at the Union Coffee House in London, and in reference to the conversation that ensued, he wrote to Bowrey and the rest of the owners of the *Mary Galley* what was meant to be an official report of the proceedings of

the ship immediately before her capture. From this and the following letters we find that the vessel either left Batavia on 10 April 1707, in company with fourteen sail of Dutch and two English "homeward bound East India Ships," or that she joined the fleet on the date mentioned. On 24 July the ships found themselves to the north of Ireland in a fog followed by a storm. Next morning Tolson lost the fleet and searched the sea to the west of the Farøe Islands without sighting it. He was thus alone, but he ascertained that he still had stores for two months and was consequently able to get to England or Scotland safely. Off the Firth of Forth, the region in which the tragedy of the *Worcester* had occurred, and therefore barred to him, he had bad weather, and made for Newcastle.

On 14 August he found two ships, French privateers, ahead of him and this made him go north again. Next morning he saw one of these privateers a second time and had a fight with her: "a very warm Fire, most From Small armes" for about an hour and a half. In this fight he "Received that wound that disabled me." Joseph Dupuy, despite the coolness between them, helped to get Captain Tolson below, whence he made the best arrangements that he could for the continuance of the fight. The *Mary Galley* was thus left in charge of Griffin as mate, who, according to Tolson, behaved very badly and mismanaged the ship. At daybreak on 18 August the captain was informed that they were "within 2 miles off the Shore off Uteland [Jutland]," and soon after was told that there were three "Saill off hag-boats" in the offing. He ordered Griffin to speak with them, in the hope of getting a pilot, but they would not "bear down to us."

Then occurs an important passage: "Then hee [Griffin] cam and told me that they see 2 Ships to Leeward off us. I asked him what them Looked Like. Hee told mee hee be- lieved them to be 2 off the Dutch Fleatt, and asked mee if hee should bear down to them. And I told him to do what hee would." Here Tolson's narrative ceases, but other papers show that the two ships turned out to be French privateers,

and the *Mary Galley* was captured. In the circumstances, it seems difficult to hold Tolson responsible for the disaster.

On 12 October we have another account of the capture in a letter from John Mitchell, the boatswain (Paper 80) written from Dunkirk to his brother-in-law "William Morisone, merchant in Dundie." He gives the news without any animus or intimation of self-interest, and tells the story in a few words which have the impress of truth: "Being parted with Bad weather [from the Dutch fleet], we thoght to got into Scotland, but met with a privatier and got Chier of her, and then we bore away for Noraway, and meeting with two great ships, we thoght they were English men of war and boar down to them; but they proved to be french men of war. Ajust [August] 18 day we were taken and broght into Dunkirk."

As Tolson was badly wounded, one would judge that the person responsible for the mistake and the capture was really the mate Griffin. Indeed, the only charges against Tolson of losing his ship by neglect are those in Grist's letter, the value of which can be gauged by the animus he showed in the subsequent proceedings with regard to Tolson's conduct of the affairs of the owners while in the East. It must, however, be admitted that all the officers of the ship subsequently supported Grist to some extent, the mate, ex-supercargo, doctor and midshipman, and also the carpenter.

In a second letter from Grist to Bowrey, attested by John Elliott, the doctor, dated 15 March 1707/8 (Paper 79), there is a distinct charge of cowardice against Griffin during the engagement with the French privateer, and a half-hearted charge against Tolson for leaving the deck. But these charges are not made directly, as the object of the letter is to intercede with Bowrey for some member of the crew, who seems to have been in distress.

So on the whole it may be considered that no charge against Tolson for the loss of his ship was ever seriously made. It appears to have ended with Bowrey's endorsement on the letter noted above: "Mr. Grist and Elliot about the Captain and Mr. Griffin giving the Ship away." At the same time

there is no doubt that during the quarrel Bowrey had with Tolson over the general conduct of the ship in Eastern waters, he did make hostile enquiries about the capture, for at the end of the papers relating to that matter there is a page of notes (Paper 81) regarding information he tried to collect from his cousin, Thomas Studds, the midshipman of the *Mary Galley*. In the course of these notes occurs the following: "T. Studds says he was orderd by J[oseph] T[olson] to goe up and bid Mr. Griffin bear down to the Ships [the French privateers]." Here there is a distinct inclination to cast the burden of the capture on Tolson, and there is more of this kind of thing as the enquiry as to Tolson's conduct of the voyage progresses.

No contemporary accounts of the loss of the *Mary Galley*, other than those contained in the Bowrey papers, have been traced. There are, unfortunately, no logs available of the homeward voyage of her two English consorts, the *Frederick* and *Loyall Cook*, East Indiamen, both of which arrived safely in Holland with the Dutch fleet and eventually reached England. The only reference in the newspapers of the day to the disaster which befell the *Mary Galley* is found in the *Postman* of 6-9 September 1707, under news from the Hague. It runs as follows: "They write from Dunkirk that 2 Men of War have brought into that Harbour an English East India Ship homeward bound called the *Mary Catherine*." This statement no doubt refers to the *Mary Galley*, the substitution of *Catherine* for *Galley* being probably due to a printer's error or an error in transmission of the news.

The safe arrival of the Dutch fleet in the Texel is reported in a letter from the Hague to "Mr. Secretary Harley," dated 9 September 1707 (*State Papers, Foreign, Holland*, 229). This letter also contained news of a rumour of the loss of the *Loyall Cook* on the banks of the Texel with all her crew, a rumour contradicted in a subsequent letter of 11 September. Neither of these communications alludes to the fate of the *Mary Galley*. As a separate stock ship owned by private merchants, her loss would excite but little public interest.

Paper 75.

[Elias Grist to Captain Bowrey reporting the Capture of the *Mary Galley* by French Privateers.]

Dunckirk, September the 11th 1707.

Captain Bowrey, Sir, though I am not ambitious of being the Messenger of bad Newse, yett I thinke itt proper to Informe you of the Loss of Ship *Mary Gally*, and to lett You know our Misfortune may in Great part be attributed to your Order to the Commander of not putting into any part of Scotland¹, as your Letter left att Cape Bona Esperance will show, allthough Mr. Dupuy nor self was made acquainted with nothing of the Matter till wee had lost Company with the Dutch Fleet, which is now about 5 weeks agoe. After which, having used Endeavours to find them againe and all Hopes of itt Frustrated, though a fair wind presented for putting in to Norroway, yet no Argument could prevaile with Captain Tolson, though wee Gave him our Opinions in Writing, which though might differ in some small Matters, yett all Concur'd for making the best of our way for the Nearest Port, where wee might harbour the Ship with Safety, which was some part in Norroway, wee then being Per Account off not above 25 Leags, and the Wind fair and fresh Gale.

Now after wee had neglected that Opportunity through the Commanders Obstinacy, who was Absolute in his Resolutions, after much blowing foggey Weather and the Wind either Contrary, or little or too much of itt, itt pleas'd God to Send us a fresh Topsaill Gale² att NNW., soe to the NW. and WNW., with which wee might have fetcht in to any part of Scotland, and though Hee had made many specious Pretences to us before of Getting into any part of Scotland, rather then Risque Ship and Cargoe longer, yett then, contrary to Expectation, no Port must serve his Turne butt Newcastle, where, about 15 Leags Distant, were Chac't off[f] the Coast by French Privateers, and as soon as Gott clear of One, through favour of the Foggey Weather, allwayes fell in with Another. In Short, after wee had carried away our Mayntopmast³ and found the Ship that Chac't us come up

¹ Bowrey had told Tolson to avoid Scotland owing to the affair of the *Worcester* and Captain Green.

² "A fresh 'Topsaill Gale'" is a gale which just allowed the ship to continue to carry topsails. As in previous chapters, I am indebted for the nautical notes in chapter v to the kindness of Mr G. S. Laird Clowes.

³ Compare the loss of the fore mast and topmast which occurred twice on the outward voyage (see Papers 57 and 59) It would seem that the enlarged tops fitted at Batavia (see Paper 59) were insufficient to remedy the initial weakness in masting.

with us' att a Great Rate, wee brought too, and made the Ship Clear for Engaging¹. When he was alongside us, he ply'd us very hott with his small Shott, wounding 9, and killing one in an Instant, and had not God Almighty been att the Expençe of a Miracle, had Taken us, for our small Armes² were of as much use as a Bartholome fair Bow and Arrow³. And [as] for your Great Gunns⁴, they Jumpt out of the Carriages att first firing, soe that with our Heighth in the Wast⁵ and these Implements of Warr, we were finely fitted.

After wee Gott away from her, wee Shap't a Course for Norro-way, and just as saw the Land, fell in with 2 Sayle of Menn of Warr, who took us and brought us in here.

I have much more to Say, but shall Deferr till Arriv'd in England, Where shall Expect to be informed what part of the Summ of £4080 is remaining behind, in order to receive my Dividend.

We came out in the Darke and have made a Darke Voyage of itt. The Injustice Done me relating to the Commission⁶, although as the Case now stands, is of no prejudice to my Interest.

You may think I am a little blunt with you, but Sir, Loosing Gamesters have Liberty of Speaking. Had I my Effects Insur'd, I should have been Your very Easy humble Servant, ELIAS GRIST. What above written attested to be true Per

RICHARD GRIFFIN

JOHN ELLIOT

[Addressed]: To Captain Thomas Bowrey, Marine Square, London, England.

[Endorsed]: Dupuy, Griffin, Grist and Elliot: Sept. 11th 1707.

¹ "Made the Ship Clear for Engaging" corresponds to the later "cleared the ship for action."

² "Small Armes" may here include swivel guns as well as muskets.

³ This allusion is to the toy bows and arrows sold at the celebrated Bartholomew Fair, held in West Smithfield on St Bartholomew's Day from 1133 to 1855.

⁴ The "Great Gunns" were the six iron cannon mounted on carriages in the waist (see Paper 28, p. 105, n. 1).

⁵ The "Wast" which was only about 4 ft. above the water-line, could not be called high, but Grist's expression appears to refer to the exposed position of the men working the guns, owing to the low bulwarks in the waist.

⁶ See Papers 45, 48 and 49 (pp 212, 216, 222) for the orders respecting Grist's exclusion from participating in the control of the affairs of the ship and his subsequent reinstatement in council, with the captain, chief mate and second supercargo.

Paper 76.

[Tolson to Bowrey about the Capture of the *Mary Galley*.]

October the 13th 1707¹.

Sir, I Received your Letter² in which you desire mee to gitt an affadavitt off the maner off my being Superated From the Fleet and off my being taken, and what Cargo was on board on the owners proper account, all which I hope to Sertyffye you by the Next post. For yesterday, being beffore the Judge [at Dunkirk] to make my declaration, he promised to take my affadavitt when I had gott itt made and Ready by a Note Republike [notary public]. I asked Mr. Griffin to Signe with mee, butt hee Reffused, Saying hee would have his wages First. Butt you need nott wonder att his ingrattitude, in which he hath so often and Clearly showed him Selff gilty off, both to you and mee, togither with his incelentt behaveour and Ignorent acting when I was uncapable, to your Lose and my Ruen.

I pray God be my Comfforte, who hetherto hith [*sic*] been my Suporte From Sinking under So greatt afflictions and Miserable Condission as I have under gone and had no other comffortt then that hee will Never Leave nor Forsake them that put their trustt in him. I am very weak in my Knee, butt I Finde itt to grow stronger by degrees. There hath Severall Splenters off the bones come outt, butt I hope itt is cured now. Itt hath broke outt Severall times, both where the Shott went in and where itt came outt, and one small bone workt out³.

The Ship is nott Sold as yett, as the Judge Sertified in [? me] yesterday. The She[ath]jing board is on, For that I Feared the [?]tching⁴ off the Worme beffore I cold gitt itt putt on. Her Riging is very much Shott and damaged both Standing and Runing⁵. Her Cables—the Sheet Cable is good; the best boar [bower cable] much wore, and there is about 50 Fathem off kire [coir] Cable made in Bengall the First time⁶ [we were there]. She

¹ This and the following letters from Tolson are in his own hand, which is not easy to decipher, and as he makes no attempt at punctuation, it is sometimes difficult to grasp his meaning.

² This letter is not available

³ He must have been wounded below the knee and had the shin bone splintered. His other suffering was clearly due to the surgery of the day.

⁴ This word is indecipherable. It ends in "tching" and may be intended for "scratching."

⁵ The standing rigging are those ropes which remain usually in a fixed position. The office of the running rigging is to manage the sails, by communicating with various blocks or pulleys. See Falconer, *Dict of the Marine*, 1769.

⁶ See Paper 59, p. 254

apeareth Some whatt Strained Ever since the pillett [pilot] Laid her aground going up Bengall River¹. Ther is 4 anchores, 10 Guns² and aboutt 16 tun off Caskes in her when I was taken, 2 Sutes off Saile, 1 half wore, the other $\frac{2}{3}$; one I made on board outt off 2 Dutch Main Sailes I bought att Batavia³.

The Judge hath promised me to take my affadavitt, So thatt, as Soon as the Note Republike hath done itt, who hath now my Copy, I will dispatch itt away, according to your directions, and a copy theroff⁴, which I hope shall be the Next poste, and I do nott Fear itt.

I have Sentt you 3 Letters beffore this⁴. As For the Ships book and any papers, I Fear they canott be Recoverd, For the officers haveing plundered very much, Feared [fearing] that bookes or papers should discover itt, they made away with all off them, save the invoyce off some good[s] purchased in Bengall⁵, which the Judge told mee was gone to Paris, and that they would nott discover any other papers, alledging that the people had hove them over board.

The Captain is gone from hence some time agoe, that took us⁶. There is 3 off my wounded men dead off their wounds, and the 4th not Like to Live⁷.

In my Letter that I sentt giving an account off the Cargoe, I Forgot 30 Maund off bowrax or tincall, purchased on the owners account.

¹ In November 1705 See Paper 59, p. 253.

² "10 Guns," i.e. six iron guns in the waist and four swivel guns, two of them of brass (see Paper 28, n. 1, p. 195). The other six guns which were carried as merchandise appear to have been disposed of in the East.

³ Tolson seems to have sailed from England with two suits of sails, one of which was kept in reserve in the sail room (see Illustration, no. 9, "Draft of the Cabins, etc."). One suit was worn out in the outward voyage and was replaced by a suit made from the two mainsails of some much larger Dutch vessel. A suit of sails for the *Mary Galley* consisted of mainsail, main topsail, foresail, fore topsail, mizensail and spritsail—six in all.

⁴ The affidavit and the three letters, are, unfortunately, not available.

⁵ See Paper 66.

⁶ I have failed to ascertain the name of the ship responsible for the seizure of the *Mary Galley*. The only reference to her capture in the contemporary newspapers now available has been noted above (see p. 285).

⁷ This (with Grist's letter) shows that Tolson himself and nine men were wounded in the fight, of whom three, and probably four, died. One man, Francis Whitton the tailor, was killed outright. Of the wounded, the names of only three are recorded. They were John Godfrey sailmaker, Jacob Keirckson a Dutchman, both of whom died from their injuries, and George Nearn or Nairn.

Dear Sir, iff any thing lies in your [power] to the advancement off my Enlargement, I Humbly desire you will nott omitt itt, which will bee the Greatest oblygation that you can Lay upon your distressed and Humble Servant, JOS: TOLSON.

October the 13: 1707: Dunkirk hospitall.

The Reason off this Letter comeing 4 dayes Laiter then itt is datted is that I cold nott gitt itt sent to the post house, So that with itt I have sent the affadavitt as you writt For, and a copy theroff I gave to have itt made by. I had the affadavitt the day¹ Mr. Griffin and Mr. Grise [Grist] and the docter [John Elliott] and Mr. Dupuy Reffused to signe, alledging that they would have their wages First, and as I understand, they have sentt you a Letter to that porpose. I very seldom see them².

Mr. Dupuy took up off the Marchent I delt [with] 330 Rix dolere, and with his other bills off Extravigance he Run outt there 589 Rix dolers, all which I was Forced to pay outt off the Ships Stock³. Mr. Grist toke up 190 off the Marchent I delt with in the time I was upon my voyge From Batavia to Bengall, all which time hee Lay att Battavia, being left by his Idleness and Neglygence, For he went on Shore aboutt no busines⁴.

I hope Sir, that when I come in England, that you will doe me Ju[s]tice, that I shall nott be brought in trouble aboutt the monthes pay in Six, which I am very much thretoned by severall off them, who aledgeth their is noon [no one] paid, For God knoweth, though my Woundes hath Nott proved mortle by them, I am reduced to a poor condisson. For iff itt had pleased God that I had been capable [fit to command after being wounded], your ship had never come to France, nor I have lost my voyage, which both I valued Equall with my Liffe, as I shall very well Satisfie you when itt pleases God to permitt me to see you, till which time I Rest, your distressed Serventt, JOS: TOLSON.

October the 17th 1707.

¹ Tolson apparently means to say. "The day I had the affadavitt."

² It is clear that after the capture of the *Mary Galley* Tolson and his officers were at loggerheads. Grist hints at this in his first letter.

³ See Paper 72.

⁴ Tolson's sense of justice must have become impaired by his misfortunes and the antagonistic attitude of his officers, for in his letter of 12 December 1705 from Calcutta, he exonerates Grist from any lapse of duty in being left behind at Batavia (see Paper 59, p. 257).

Paper 77.

[Tolson to Bowrey from his Prison at Dunkirk.]

Dunkirk, the 15th off November, 1707.

Sir, I Received yours dated the 22th off October¹, in which was one inclosed to Thomas Studdes, which I deliverd, and have in the Cover Sentt you an answere thereto from him to his Mother².

I gott the affadavitt Made according to your desire, and Sentt itt, which desire you will give me an accountt iff you have Received them, I mean the affadavitt and the copy, and there you will Finde in my Letter to you the Reason why I cold gitt none off the Rest to Signe with me³.

I have had greatt trouble to gitt baill and itt hath cost me above 50 Shilings to procure [a] Frind to keep me outt off the Comon prison, which hath been the occasion that I could nott answer your desire in the Letter, For that I cold nott go aboutt to gitt whatt accountt you desire. Butt by the Next post I will Send you the Nearest account that I can make up off whatt men and whatt money paid them.

I have taken No money upon the botem off Mr. Sheldon⁴, nor any other, save 1000 Rupees off Sir Edward Littleton⁵, which Ingageth or Enlargeth the Ships Cargo. Ther[e] is other bounds [bonds], the Condissons off which will sertyffye you when itt please God that I shall Returne For England. I am Some thing indisposed att present and very week in my knee still.

I had 24 Men and boyes when Ingaged [with the enemy] and 23 when taken, 14 off them outt off England and 10 Shipd and

¹ There is no copy of this letter available.

² Hannah Studds, mother of Thomas Studds, midshipman, was Bowrey's cousin. Neither Bowrey's letter to Studds nor that of Studds to his mother is available.

³ See Paper 76.

⁴ Tolson means that he had given no bottomry bond to Ralph Sheldon for money lent.

⁵ This is the first mention of Sir Edward Littleton in connection with the business of the *Mary Galley*. Tolson's letters written from Calcutta only speak of Ralph Sheldon, a servant of the Old Company, as having furthered the interests of the owners, and there is no record of the loan alluded to by Tolson among the ship's papers.

Littleton, who had served the Old East India Company in Bengal from 1671, was dismissed for "interloping" or carrying on illicit trade, in 1682. In 1699 he returned to India as President of Bengal under the New Company. He died at Fort William in 1707. See Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, II, 215-22, Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, I, 154 *et seq.*; *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, ed Temple, II, 306 n.

bought in the Contry [India]¹; 2 off the last, being the cook and boy², was the owners slaves. The boy the Captain off the [French] man off war gave me to tend upon me, butt iff I can Save him hee shall be att the owneres pleasure att my Return.

I have drawn a bill of Exchange For ten pound upon Mr. Dupuy³ by Reason off Mr Puoarte⁴ being gone to Paris, and I have Received butt ten pounds off him, which I desire you to advize Mr. Dupuy off, and that you will be so Kinde as to See itt Excepted. So I Restt, Your distressed Servent in bonds, JOS: TOLSON.
[Addressed]: For Mr. Bowry Marchant, Liveing in Mareen Square, London.

Paper 78.

[Tolson's Official Account of the Proceedings of the
Mary Galley before her Capture.]

May the 15th 1708⁵.

Sirs, I send you these according to your order att the Union Coffye house⁶.

On the 24 off July Last, about 4 in the affternoon, being then in company with 14 Saill off Dutch and 2 English homeward bound East India Ships, itt hapened to prove a very thick Fog, and toward the morning Came on a Storm of winde, which broughtt the whole Fleett under a main Saill⁷, the Winde att N. Et.

Att 2 in the affternoon I see one Dutch Ship and the *Fred[er]eck*⁸

¹ The crew of the *Mary Galley*, when she went into action, thus consisted of fourteen of the men shipped in England and ten shipped in India, of whom two were Dutchmen, and two at least blacks or Indians.

² Boy, Hind. *bhoz*, Tel *boya*, a native Oriental of the Bhoi caste, primarily fishermen, but also employed as palanquin carriers and domestic servants.

³ Elias Dupuy, one of the owners of the *Mary Galley*, Joseph Dupuy's father.

⁴ This individual seems to have been acting in Tolson's interest.

⁵ Tolson must have been released from Dunkirk and have reached England some time before this date

⁶ This was probably the Union Coffee-House situated on Cornhill, between Exchange Alley and Pope's Head Alley. It is shown on a map in E. F. Robinson's *Early Hist. of Coffee Houses in England* as having been damaged in a fire in 1748.

⁷ That is, caused the whole fleet to take in topsails.

⁸ The *Prince Frederick*, Captain John Wynn, arrived at Calcutta from Fort St George on 20 July 1706 (*Fort William Diary*, Beng. Pub. Cons. vol. 1), and Tolson probably sailed from Bengal in her company. The other English East Indiaman in the fleet was the *Loyall Cook*, Captain J. Clarke.

bear up¹ and Lay their heads to the Southward, which I did Likewise and berthed our Selves to Leewards off them both. A little time after the *Frederickes* main tack² gave way and I see her beat up³ and brought to on our Lee quarter In the evening I perceived them to Fall to Leeward apace, and designeing to bear down to them⁴, I Found itt to blow So hard that I durst nott venture to Medle with any Sall For Fear off carying all away or Foundering.

The next morning I boar down, haveing watched a Slatch⁵ off weather (I believe 3 Leagu[e]s), butt cold not desern any Ships, the weather haveing continued very thick all the time. So I brought to again.

The Storm abateing on the 30 off July I Surveyed our watter and provissions and found [them] in good Condission: 2 Months of all Sorts, according to Computation, and theirupon Consulted with all my officers whatt was best to be done. Wee concluded that in the Courses Steard they [the fleet] designed to go to the Northward off the Islands off Fairö [Faröe Is.], So in hopes that wee might meett with them their, I spent 9 dayes, butt Findeing all in vain, I Resolved to make the best off our way For the First porte that I cold gitt in Saffty to in England or Scotland. But

¹ "To bear up" has the same sense as "to bear away," that is, to turn so as to bring the wind further aft, but the expression is derived from the motion of the helm, which in this manœuvre is "put up," i.e. turned towards the windward side of the ship.

The fleet was sailing approximately east with the north-east wind on the larboard bow, but at 2 o p.m. the two ships mentioned changed their course to south and so brought the wind aft on the larboard quarter.

² "Tack, a rope used to confine the foremost lower-corners of the courses and staysails . . . The main-sail and fore-sail of a ship are furnished with a tack on each side . . . By this means one tack is always fastened to windward, at the same time that the sheet extends the sail to leeward" (Falconer, *op. cit.*) The main course is secured at each of its lower corners by two ropes, the tack and the sheet. The tack on the windward side is hauled forward while the sheet on the leeward side is hauled aft

³ The *Prince Frederick* was originally to the eastward of the *Mary Galley*, but when her main tack gave way she drifted down wind to the westward. She then beat up into the wind and brought to, head to wind, to the north-west of the *Mary Galley*, but was later blown farther to the westward.

⁴ For the *Mary Galley* to "bear down to them" would have necessitated her gybing, i.e. changing her course and swinging over her sails, so as to bring the wind from her larboard to her starboard quarter. Gybing is always a risky operation in a strong wind.

⁵ "Slatch," a short spell (of weather). "Slatch is generally applied to the period of a transitory breeze of wind, or the length of its duration" (Falconer, *op. cit.*).

when I came near the Ferth [of Forth]¹ the winde blew very hard So that I cold not cary my topsails with less then both Reeffer in², the winde at W. b So. to Wt. So I Resolved to make the best of my way For Newcastle.

Butt on the 14 off August in the morning see 2 Ships ahead off mee. So I tacked and Stood to the Northward. They gave me Chace all that day, and allthough wee careyed away our main-topmast³, wee bore away and Steared Such courses as wee Lost them.

On the 15th in the morning, haveing gott up another topmast, butt the Riging nott Sett Fast⁴, when I see that a priviteer that had given us Chace 2 houres, I see would inffallably Speek with us. I Resolved, as God is my wittness, to deffend my Charge with the Last Drop off my blood, and so caled all my peaple together and prepared our Selves to Receiv[e] him. He came under our Lee quarter, in order, as I beleive, to board us, butt Findeing to[o] warm a Receitt, hee Sheard off and Lay under our Lee bow, and their plied us with a very warm Fire, most From Small armes. For, I beleive, an hour and a halff beffore I Received that wound that disabled me⁵. And then, by the help of Mr. Dupuy, I was Corryed down and ordered the Rest to go to Close quarters⁶, which was perfformed and prepared For with the best provission I cold make, haveing 6 powder Chistes upon the quarter deck⁷ and 16 quarter Shelles⁸, and upon the Forecasle 2 powder Chists, and my Small armes in the best Condission I cold Keep them.

Indead, the behaviour off my mate Griffin I canott Comend,

¹ The very place where the tragedy of the *Worcester* occurred and one which Tolson would naturally avoid, though he does not say that this was in his mind.

² The fact that, in so small a ship, the topsails had then two lines of reef points is of interest.

³ See Paper 75, p. 286, note 3.

⁴ Tolson had got a spare topmast into position at the head of the main mast, but had not had time to complete the setting up (tightening) of its rigging.

⁵ This shows that Tolson was wounded off Newcastle, and he was still disabled when the ship was captured later on.

⁶ "Close-quarters, certain strong barriers of wood stretching across a merchant ship in several places. They are used as a place of retreat when a ship is boarded by her adversary, and are... fitted with... loop holes, through which to fire" (Falconer, *op. cit.*).

⁷ Compare Falconer, *op. cit.*: "They are likewise furnished with several small caissons, called powder-chests, which are fixed upon the deck, and filled with powder, old nails, etc., and may be fired at any time from the close quarters upon the boarders."

⁸ "Quarter Shelles" seem to be hand-grenades to be used from "Close quarters" for repelling boarders

For beffore I was wounded in the Knee, hee had Lefft his quarters above a quarter off an hour, and taken with him all who was Givein him to take care off, telling them, as I understand since, that I had ordered them to Close quarters¹. And when Thomas Studes would have come up, hearing mee and the rest upon the deck busye in Entertaining and Returning the Enymyes Fire, hee would nott Lett him, and when the Priviteer putt off, [in spite of] all that I cold [do to] perswade him to go up and incorage the people, he Refused, telling mee that itt was Impossable to Stand upon the quarter deck²

So Mr. Dupuy Looking down, as I Remember, I beged off him to help mee up [on to the quarter-deck], and Mr. Griffin helped him to gitt mee up, butt Sitt and Served outt the powder him Selff Some time affter, till the Enemy was quite outt off muscatt Shott and makeing the best off his way So haveing sitt till I was cold, my wounds become very painfull, and then they caryed me down and putt me to bed, and I ordered Mr. Griffin to make the best of their way For Noraway, the winde being Westerly, with which there was no hopes of gaining the coast off England or Scotland.

Butt the Managment that was used affter I was down, I pray God Lett never any honest man be a specktater off. For as I was informed by the Carpenter [Jarrad Cutberson] Next morning, hee [Griffin] went to his Cabin and did nott so much as inform them whatt course to Stear. And Sume time affter hee was goeing S.Et., when his Course was Et. And when I asked him what hee meened by that Course, hee went to his drafft³ and told me hee would bear away⁴, For hee had not minded beffore the winde then being at S.S.Wt. And when Shee came beffore the winde, Shee Shiped Sume watter. And presently I heard such distraction and Swaring that wee Should all be drowned, as iff the Ship had been going to the bottom.

I asked the matter, and hee told me Shee shiped watter over the gunell⁵, att which I ordered him to goc N. b W. with the

¹ See note 6, p. 294.

² Griffin insisted on keeping below deck, in the between-decks, and well under cover.

³ "His drafft" appears to mean the mate's rough copy of a chart which probably remained in the captain's possession.

⁴ "Bear away," turn, so as to bring the wind further aft.

⁵ Owing to the following sea and the ship's low stern, with no poop, the *Mary Galley* was shipping water over the gunwale of the quarter-deck when the wind was right aft. Tolson therefore gave orders to bring the wind more on the quarter, so that the vessel would rise and fall more easily with the seas.

winde upon that quarter till hee came in the Lattitude off 57° 30' N. and then to goe away E.N.Et. In all this Time I beged off him to gitt up the maintop Sail¹, but cold not perswade him to do itt.

The day beffore wee ware taken he told mee hee was in the Lattitude I had ordered. So I ordered him to Stear away E.N.Et , and att 8 aclock Caed him and told him that I did nott think it saffe For him to Stand [on his course] till 12, and that I would have him bring to² att 10. Butt being so drunk that I could Scarce gitt him to Speek, hee told mee one watch³ cold not doe itt, and So, Contrary to my order, Fell aslep, as I was infformed, and stood [on his course] till 12.

In the breek off Day they told me that wee where within 2 miles off the Shore off Uteland [Jutland], to my great Mortyffication, [yet] praiseing God that so many Soulls had Escaped So Eminent a danger. Some time affter they told mee they See 3 Sail off hagboatts⁴, which in hope to have gott a pilett outt off them, I ordered them to indeavour to Speek with them. Butt they whethered us and would not bear down. So being, by the Manidgment as I had seen, withoutt a better pilett, the Next Night would preduce a grave For all off us, I ordered him to Spread the Ensigne⁵ in the maintop mast shrouds⁶ to See iff any off them would bear down to us. But they would nott.

¹ After the main topmast had been carried away, a new topmast had been got up, but the main topsail had not yet been replaced in position

² "Bring to," check the way of the ship by bringing her head to the wind

³ "One watch," i.e. half the ship's company of 18 men.

⁴ "Hagboatts," vessels used in the timber and coal trade. Compare Falconer, *op cit* "Hagboats and pinks approach the figure of cats, the former being a little broader in the stern." Here the term means no more than vessels belonging to the coast and islands of Friesland.

⁵ As the cross of St Andrew was not introduced into the ensign used by English vessels until the Union of the English and Scotch Parliaments, in 1707 it is probable that Tolson was still using the older red ensign with a red cross of St George in the centre, under which he sailed from England in 1704. St Andrew's Cross had been combined with St George's to form the Union Jack in 1606, but the use of this Jack was allowed only to the Royal Navy, where it was flown at the jack-staff on the bow-sprit, as one of the signs of a King's Ship or else at the main mast head as the command-flag of the Admiral of a large fleet.

As a merchantman, the *Mary Galley* must have flown a St George's Cross at her jack-staff, while her main mast flags may have followed her captain's fancy, except that she was debarred from flying the long naval pennant. See W. C. Perrin, *British Flags*.

⁶ An ensign flown in the topmast shrouds is a well-known signal of distress, as in fact is an ensign flown in any unaccustomed position or upside down. An ensign is properly flown at the ensign-staff in the stern, or, where this does not exist, at the peak of the gaff of the aftermost mast.

Then hee [Griffin] cam and told me that they see 2 Ships to Leeward off us. I asked him what them Looked Like. Hee told mee hee beleived them to be 2 off the Dutch Fleatt, and asked mee iff hee should bear down to them. And I told him to do what hee would, and thinking that iff they ware an Enymy and to Leeward, they would unavoydably Speek with us¹, wee haveing No main top Saill. So God Allmighty knowes and be my Record whether my Liffe or the Ship I had in my Charge was most dear to mee. For while I am on this side the grave, the Lose off her hath taken away that which may be Imputed the Enjoyment off the Liffe in me.

And as For Those dimentts [diamonds]², I only desire you to consider whether iff I had had them all and Free off a bad consequence, whether they would have Surmounted my Intrests in the Ship or noe, whereas I took but one off the three parcells into my Custody, the prime cost off which, according to the bill off Laideing, is aboutt 600 pagodus³; and whether that cold make mee satisffaction or nott, I Lieve you to be Judg off what Intrest I had in the Ships Saffty [by] whatt is hear Incerted.

When you pleass to order me to wait upon you and the party their, which did nott apear yesterday, I shall be Ready. Your humble Servant, JOS · TOLSON.

[Addressed]: To Capt. Bowry and the Rest off the owners off *Mary Gally*.

Paper 79.

[Grist's Charge of Cowardice against Tolson and Griffin.]

March 15th 1707/8.

Captn. Bowrey, Sir, The Bearer hereof desir'd me to Informe you he was not indebted any matter in the Ship's Booke, to which I can swear too. His Circumstances being very poor and mean, I suppose You will not deny paying him part of his Wages, considering he was a Person that behav'd himself very bravely in the Engagement with the French Privateer, when Mr. Tolson and his Rascally Mate Griffin left the Deck, and consequently, in their beleif, Gave up the Ship *Mary Gally*, the former having a wound in his Excuse, the latter not only keeping between Decks in the time of Engaging, but hindering those that were Quarter'd with

¹ "Unavoydably Speek with us" here means "would be able to overtake us."

² This refers to a transaction to which there is another reference in Paper 87.

³ About £240 reckoning the pagoda at 8s.

him from comming up to assist those that kept the Deck, as your Kinsman Thomas Studds and others that were with him inform'd me after the Engagement was over. I am Sir, Your humble Servant, ELIAS GRIST.

Attested to per . . . JOHN ELIOT.

[Addressed]: To Captn. Thomas Bowrey, Present.

[Endorsed]: Mr. Grist and Elliot about the Captain and Mr. Griffin giving the Ship away.

Paper 80.

[Josh Mitchell, Boatswain, to William Morison, about the Capture of the *Mary Galley*.]

Dunkirk, October 12 day 1707.

Loving Brother[-in-law], These with my kynd Love to you and all yower familie. These are to aquant you that I ame in Dunkirk. We Came home with the Dutch Eastindie ships and kept Com-ponie with them fifteen weeks. Being parted with Bad weather, we thocht to got into Scotland, but met with a privatier and got Clier of her, and then we bore away for Noraway, and meeting with two great ships, we thocht they were Inglish men of war and boar down to them; but they proved to be french men of war. Ajust [August] 18 day we were taken and broght into Dunkirk.

I have been at the hospitall verie bad with the Bloodie flocks [flux, dysentery] this month and verie bear of Cloths, and no mony, for the french men took ever[y] thing from us I desayre, ife yow know any way Convenienlie to send me over a little mony, that yow would doe it, for we expect to Lie in prisone all winter. Hier are some that have bein six months in prison and doe not know when they goe for England. I desayre yower Answer with the first oppurtunitie. Derect it for me in Dunkirk prison or els in Callies [Calais]. We expect a packet over everie day. We think we shall be sent to Callies after the packet Comes over.

I wrot two Letters to my Landladie at London, but I have had no Answer. Give my kynd Love to Bezelie [Bezaliel] Maxwell and his wyfe and all friends in Ginerall, desaying yower Answer with the first post. Aquant David Huntar that John Rattrie¹ Died 22 day of May 1705 in the Eastindies. So I Rest, your Loving Brother[-in-law], JOHN MITCHELL².

¹ John Rotray (or Rattray) was one of the crew shipped in England (see Page 23).

² John Mitchell, who shipped in England as a foremastman, was made boatswain after the death of Archibald Whitman (see p 255, n. 4, and p. 278).

Aquant the Leird of Kirk hill that his son George Nairon¹ is at this hospitall verie Badlie woounded; he belonged to ower ship.

[Addressed]: This For William Morisone, merchant in Dundie in Scotland: these deliver with Care.

[In Bowrey's writing on back]: Death of Jno. Rattray.

Paper 81.

[Bowrey's Notes of Evidence obtained from Thomas Studds, Midshipman of the *Mary Galley*.]

If will deliver my Book².

If will tell me all his objections, I will tell him all my Objections. After telling my objections say some Money I will have by Law, Arbitration or otherwise².

T. Studds says he was orderd by J T. [Joseph Tolson] to goe up and bid Mr. Griffin bear down to the Ships [just before her capture].

That the Carpenter told the Captain when off Faro that the Maintopmast was sprung and that they had oportunity to gett up another³.

Captain would have gone to Norway if the Men would have signed a writing about Wages, for which Caution [guarantee] he had no direction from the Owners.

Captain about Bonds, Rawlins and Account Opium⁴.

¹ George Nearn (or Nairn) was also a member of the crew shipped in England.

² These two paragraphs seem to relate to a conversation with some person other than Thomas Studds.

³ That is, that the captain knew that the main topmast was cracked and ought to have replaced it before it was carried away at a critical moment, as described in Papers 75 and 78.

⁴ For remarks on the bond Tolson gave Captain Rawlins for expenses at the Cape, and for allegations against him regarding illicit dealing in opium, see *post*, Papers 87 and 90.

T S. [Thomas Studds' information].

Rowing in the Boat and his Servant steering in hot weather [in the East].

If [Tolson] would [have] lent [him] 5s. at Calice he could have come away.

No notice [taken] of him all the Voyage [by Tolson]. [Tolson's] Intercepting his Letters to me¹.

Bowrey's Action on hearing of the Capture

On the receipt of the news of the capture of the *Mary Galley*, Bowrey and the other owners of the vessel lost no time in looking after their own interests. After her seizure on 18 August 1707 by French privateers, off the coast of Jutland, she was clearly taken by her captors to Dunkirk, which she probably reached a few days later. Then Tolson, as soon as he had sufficiently recovered from his wound, must have made a report to England in the three missing letters already mentioned, and on 1 September Grist the purser also reported the capture as noted above (Paper 75). It is therefore unlikely that Bowrey heard of his loss much before the beginning of September. However, from an attorney's bill that has been preserved, we learn that by the 9th of the month he filed an affidavit about the Insurance "made" on the *Mary Galley*, and Thomas Hammond on the same day filed another about the "outsett" or primary cost of the said ship. They also filed an affidavit by Captain Tolson relating to "Instructions out of Dutch to prove the Loss of the *Mary Galley*" and got a translation of them made. Copies of the Instructions and the translation have been preserved and they seem to refer to a statement procured by Tolson from the "Note Republike," or notary public, as to what information that official wanted to get "the Losse made up."

These remarks seem to show that Studds was hostile to Tolson.

It was probably about this time that Bowrey supplied his kinsman with new outfit, for on 15 September 1708 he paid "Coz: Taylor" for clothes "Delivered to Thos. Studds," on 6 July, "by Capt Boweres Order" the sum of £2 12s. 3d. The clothes supplied include "holland Shirts," "Musling Neackleths," "Stokings" and "Shuse."

Paper 82.

[Attorney's Bill for Action taken on hearing of the
Capture of the *Mary Galley*.]

Captain Thomas Bowrey.

1707		£ s d.
Sep: 9	For your affidavit about the Insurance made on the <i>Mary Gally</i> , Certified, registered and Stamp .	6 3
Do.	For the Affidavit of Mr. Hammond about the out- sett [primary cost] of said Ship, Certified, registered and stamp	6 3
	For Translating Instructions out of Dutch to prove the Loss of the <i>Mary Gally</i>	1 6
	For Copying an affidavit of Capt. Tolson relating to the same	1 -
	For a Copy of a Policy of Insurance on the <i>Mary</i> <i>Gally</i> my Certificate and Stamp	6 3
	For the Affidavit of Mr. Gregory about the same Certificate and attending	5 -
	Paid the Oath	1 -
		<hr/> £1 7 3

Received the 9th of February 1707/8 one pound two shillings in
full of this account for my self and Mr. Gilbert Kynd, Per
E. JOHNSON¹.

[Endorsed]. Mr. Johnson, Notary, 1707/8.

Paper 83.

[Translation² of "Instructions" for recovering the
Loss of the *Mary Galley*.]

The Losse on the *Mary Gally* cannot be recovered without the
following Papers,—

1. A Deposition of the departure of the ship from the Cape in
Company with the Dutch Ships and the time when, and the
manner and time that she was separated from them, and what passed
further during the Voyage, the taking and bringing her up to
Dunkirk, as also that the Captain did intend to goe with his ship in
Company with the Dutch ships to some harbour in Holland.

¹ E. Johnson was Tolson's brother-in-law. See Paper 7.

² The original Dutch document is among the Bowrey papers.

2. A Deposition or other Lawfull proof of the goods which were actually Laden for account of the Owners and of their being bought in the Indies.

And the same must not be done by belief only, but upon certain knowledge.

3. Due proof of the Insurance made in England, and how, whether on the bottome or goods, and upon what Conditions, together with an exact account, as well of the Insurers who are failed as of those who remaine good. When I have received these Papers I doubt not but I shall get the Losse made up in a little time and receive the money for the same.

CHAPTER VI

PAPERS RELATING TO THE QUARREL BETWEEN BOWREY AND TOLSON AS TO THE CONDUCT OF THE VOYAGE TO THE EAST

Charges of Malfeasance against Tolson and their Settlement by Arbitration

BY March 1708 a serious quarrel had arisen between Tolson and Bowrey and the other owners of the *Mary Galley*, regarding Tolson's conduct of their affairs in the East. For this quarrel Griffin the mate and Grist the purser seem to have been mainly responsible. Fortunately, a memorandum in Bowrey's hand (Paper 84) of charges against Tolson for "Breach of Articles and Orders" has been preserved, and from it we have been able to learn that they were based on affidavits by Grist and Griffin (see Paper 87). Most of the charges are trifling and their existence shows animus on the part of those making them. The most serious is that of "Not keeping a Wast Book [rough account book, day-book] and Journall," a charge difficult to prove since all the ship's papers were destroyed after her capture. Other charges of private trade must have been equally difficult to prove for the same reason.

The cause of the charges being drawn up seems to be found in an opinion by Counsel, Duncan Dee, obtained by Bowrey on 30 June 1708. Bowrey had paid his share of the wages of the seamen of the *Mary Galley*, the loss of which, it was said, had made some of the owners insolvent; and he asked Counsel, evidently through his attorneys of the firm of Bodicoate and Tushingham in Lombard Street, for advice as to whether he could be sued for the rest, and if so, whether he could recover that amount from those of his co-owners who were solvent. Counsel's opinion on this point was characteristically hedged about, but it was distinctly disquieting, and it seems to have determined Bowrey to have

Tolson's accounts and proceedings legally examined to see if any money could be recovered from him. He had thought of this before and had been encouraged in such an idea by the statements of Grist and Griffin chiefly, but also by those of others of the crew. Hence the final framing of the charges against Tolson.

Tolson had become very much aware of the machinations against him, and on 29 June had suggested arbitration (Paper 103) of all disputes between them to Bowrey. Accordingly, on 18 August 1708 two deeds of arbitration were drawn up. One was between Bowrey and Tolson on the question of the seamen's wages and other matters relating to Tolson's own salary, on the question of certain of Tolson's dealings along with Joseph Dupuy and Elias Grist, on matters between himself and Bowrey personally, and also concerning his share in the expenses of building and fitting out the ship. It is curious to note that everything that could be brought into the case by the lawyers was brought in. James Dolliffe, a merchant of St Dunstan's Hill, London, was appointed arbitrator. The other deed was between Tolson, Bowrey and the rest of the owners. As Tolson was himself a part-owner of the ship, this deed is really between himself as part-owner and his brother owners. In the second deed the matters in dispute were those set out in Bowrey's note to Counsel already discussed, and Captain John Clarke of Tower Hill, London, was appointed to arbitrate.

Both arbitrations, preserved in full legal form, are dated 18 August 1708 and are in Tolson's favour. In the first instance Dolliffe awarded him £105. 18s. 9d., payable by Bowrey before 28 August, without prejudice to any claim that Tolson might have on the owners as a body. The amount was handed over by Bowrey a week before the time limit had expired. In the second case Clarke's arbitration was nominally against Tolson. That is to say, he was ordered to pay the owners "in full of all the disputes differences controversies Actions cause and causes of Actions Claymes and demands whatsoever," the sum of £18. 0s. 0d., that is, £13. 10s. 0d. to Bowrey and £2. 5s. 0d. each to Hammond and Jackson.

But the claims amounted to about £3000, so Tolson clearly got very much the best of it. Tolson settled with Bowrey with the same promptitude that Bowrey had settled with him, as is shown in an entry in Bowrey's private account book.

John Clarke, as a master mariner, no doubt knew how to value accusations against captains of merchantmen on their return from a voyage. Otherwise his decision is remarkable, because the charges in full have been preserved in a document evidently drawn up by legal advisers (see Paper 87). In this document the charges and the grounds for each are fully set forth, and yet Clarke ignored them all and gave only trifling counts against Tolson. The award shows what the affidavits and statements against Tolson were really worth. At the same time Captain John Clarke, who must have been a fair as well as a shrewd man, paid as little attention to Tolson's demands as he did to Bowrey's. For there is on record a counter claim by the captain against the owners for about £650 for supplies, etc., furnished to the crew. This document, which has all the appearance of having been drawn up by lawyers for "the defence," purports to give the names of the crew at the time of the capture of the *Mary Galley*, but it is evidently of very doubtful value.

So far, indeed, as the deeds of arbitration are concerned, there was apparently nothing in the cases except an effort to get the rights of the various parties legally settled, and this view is supported by the promptness of the parties in liquidating their debts. But there is a curious document preserved in Bowrey's hand (Paper 90), endorsed "Generall Noats for [as to] Answe[rs] on both Arbitrations," which he seems to have drawn up as a memorandum after the arbitrations. In this he displays that animus against Tolson which is borne out by the other papers preserved, an ill-feeling which extended to all the officers after the capture of the ship.

Paper 84.

[Thomas Bowrey's Notes of Charges against Captain Tolson¹.]

[This paper has not been printed because it is really a *résumé* of Paper 87, which is a formal statement of the case against Tolson: "Captn. Joseph Tolson is Debtor to the late Owners of the *Mary Galley*." Paper 84 is written in two columns showing "Breach of Articles and Orders" and "Proofs" respectively, and repeats the charges shown in Paper 87, but in a few instances it adds bits of information which are recorded in notes to that paper.]

Paper 85.

[The Opinion of Counsel (Duncan Dee) on the Claims of the Crew of the *Mary Galley* against Bowrey for Wages.]

CASE.

Bowrey was part Owner and Husband in the Buying and fitting out a Ship and Paying the Seamens Imprest wages, And one Months Wages in Six Months during the Ships Absence, which Wages was all paid in the Captain of the Ships name and all the Seamen shipped by him and not by the said Bowrey.

Bowrey has Paid his part as an Owner to Severall of the Seamen and taken a Release or Receipts in full of all Accounts from them.

Some of the Owners of said Ship are Insolvent.

Query. 1. If the Seamen who are unpaid by the said Bowrey and from whome he has no Release or Receipts in full can by Law or Equity oblige him to Pay them their whole Wages as well for all the other Owners as for his own part?

[*Answer.*] They cannot oblige him alone but they may bring an action against all the Owners and when they have obtained Judgement may take any one of them in Execution for the whole.

Query. 2. If Bowrey doe agree with or without a Law Suit to pay the Seamen their full Wages to whome he has as yett paid no part as abovesaid, then If he can recover the severall Parts of the other Owners, and their proportion to make good the Insolvent Owners parts?

[*Answer.*] Upon a Voluntary payment he shall not compell the Solvent owners to pay their shares of the Insolvent Owners, but if he be Compelled I am of opinion Equity will Compell them all to bear their proportions for the insolvent owners.

¹ This paper, of which there is a duplicate, is undated, but it seems to have been written after Paper 87, which contains the charges formally made against Tolson, and before Griffin's letter of 19 May 1708 (Paper 94).

Query. 3. If the said Bowrey or any other person should agree with the Sailors or any of them for their Wages (altho' for less then the full) whither that Assignment shall stand good and affect the Owners for the full of the Sailors wages considering the Insolvency of some of the owners and a dispute about the Wages?

[*Answer.*] I think if the Others would Claim any benefitt by such agreement they would be Compelled to bear their shares of the Insolvent Owners for whoever will have Equity must doe Equity.

June 30th 1708.

DUNCAN DEE¹

[Endorsed]: Case About Wages on the *Mary Gally*.

Paper 86.

[Arbitration award of James Dolliffe in the Case of
Tolson *vs.* Bowrey.]

[18 August 1708].

TO ALL PEOPLE to whom this present Writing of Award indented of Two parts shall come I James Dolliffe of St. Dunstons Hill London Merchant send greeting.

WHEREAS in and by certain Articles of Agreement indented bearing date the Nineteenth day of July last past before the date of these presents made or mentioned to be made between Joseph Tolson of London Marriner late Comander and Supra Cargo and One Sixth part Owner of the Ship *Mary Gally* of the one part and Thomas Bowrey of London Merchant late One Half part Owner of the said Ship of the other part reciteing to the effect following *vizt.*

WHEREAS diverse disputes differences and controversys had arisen between the said partys touching and concerning sundry demands made by the said Joseph Tolson on the said Thomas Bowrey for diverse matters and things relateing to an East India Voyage lately made by the said Joseph Tolson in the said Ship and otherwise, The particular Articles whereof are therein (and hereinafter) specified For all which the said Joseph Tolson demands to be satisfyed by the said Thomas Bowrey And also touching and concerning severall other Articles in the said Thomas Bowreys Books of Account relateing to the Outset and Cargo of the said Voyage which the said Joseph Tolson conceived to be overcharged and for which he demands and craves to have allowance Which Articles are also therein (and hereinafter) mentioned.

¹ Duncan Dee (1657-1720), pleader, was Common Serjeant of the City of London in 1700. He defended Dr Henry Sacheverell before the House of Lords in 1710.

Imprimis. The said Tolsons whole Wages during the said Voyage as Comander and for his Servants Wages and also for his Allowances and perquisites according to Articles dated the Third of October 1704 made between the said Thomas Bowrey and other Partowners of the said Ship of the one part and the said Joseph Tolson of the other part

Item The summe of Nine pounds five shillings and Six pence received by the said Thomas Bowrey of the said Joseph Tolsons Wife

Item Thomas Bowreys own proportionable part of the Marriners Wages and also his proportion of the Shares of Elias Dupuy and Elias Grist respectively according to their respective shares in the said Ship (to all of which the rest of the Owners thereof are now liable)

Item The said Thomas Bowreys Proportion of Eight pounds fourteen shillings and Six pence borrowed at the Cape of Good Hope by the said Joseph Tolson for the use and upon Account of the said Ship To which the said Joseph Tolson is now liable

Item His proportionable part of Seventeen pounds Seaventeen shillings and Six pence paid and allowed by the said Joseph Tolson to John Redshaw one of the Marriners as Wages Also the said Joseph Tolson clayms his own share of One Hundred and Five pounds Sixteen shillings and Nine pence charged as the Ballance of the said Bowreys Accounts to be in his hands and also of Five and Forty pounds received by the said Bowrey of Elias Grist for the use of the Owners of the said Ship

And further to be allowed his Share of what is overcharged in the said Bowreys Books of Account in the severall Articles and in manner or to the effect following *vizt.*

	£	s.	d.
For Customs	30	13	—
Cost of Flint Glass Ware	79	16	3
Eight Old Anchors qt. 49 cwt. 3 qr. 1 li. at 1 li. 1s. 1d. per Cwt.	53	9	10
To severall Expences from the laying of the Keel to the day of the said Articles of Agree- ment and for all river pay then made up ¹	539	11	1
* * * * *			

NOW KNOW ye that I the said James Dolliffe haveing heard and examined the severall Allegations and pretensions of the said

¹ Here follow three paragraphs of legal phraseology, binding the parties to the arbitrator's award and excepting from this award that of Capt. John Clarke in the case of the owners of the *Mary Galley vs. Tolson*.

Joseph Tolson and Thomas Bowrey touching and concerning the said premisses and matters in difference and maturely considered thereupon Doe make publish and declare this my Award of and upon the said premisses and matters in difference in manner following that is to say

IMPRIMIS I doe award and order the said Thomas Bowrey his executors or administrators to pay or cause to be paid to the said Joseph Tolson his executors administrators or assignes at or in the now Office of John Bodicoate and John Tushingham scituate in Lombardstreet London on the Twenty Eighth day of this instant August the summe of One hundred and Five pounds Eighteen shillings and Nine pence of lawfull money of Great Britain in full satisfaction of and for all and every the said Disputes differences controversys matters and things by them the said Joseph Tolson and Thomas Bowrey referred and submitted by the said recited Articles of Agreement to the Award and Determination of me the said James Dolliffe as aforesaid Save only and except the said Thomas Bowreys own proportionable part of the marriners Wages and the damages relateing thereto, from which I doe hereby order and direct him the said Thomas Bowrey to indemnify and save harmeless the said Joseph Tolson as also from his the said Thomas Bowreys proportionable part of the shares of the said Wages and damages which any other of the owners of the said Ship that are or may be insolvent ought to pay and discharge

AND LASTLY I doe hereby Award and declare that these presents or anything herein contained are not intended nor shall be deemed or construed to debar or hinder the said Joseph Tolson of or from any Claim or demand that he the said Joseph Tolson hath or may have against any other of the partowners of the said Ship

IN WITNESS whereof I the said James Dolliffe the Arbitrator have to Two parts of this my Award indented sett my hand and Seal the Eighteenth day of August Anno Domini One Thousand Seaven Hundred and Eight And in the Seaventh year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of Great Britain France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c. Sealed and delivered (being duly stamped) in the presence of

JNO: BODICOATE

JNO: TUSHINGHAM

JAMES DOLLIFFE.

Received this 20th day of August 1708 of the within named Capt. Thomas Bowrey the within mentioned summe of One Hundred and Five pounds Eightene Shillings and nine pence

by the within written Award directed to be paid to me on the 28th of August instant. £105. 18. 9.

Per me JOS: TOLSON

Witness:

F L JOHNSON

THOMAS QUIRKE

[Endorsed]: Mr. James Dolliffe's Award 1708.

Paper 87.

[Statement of the Charges against Tolson made by the Owners of the *Mary Galley* for the Arbitration of John Clarke.]

Captn. Joseph Tolson is Debtor to the late Owners of the *Mary Galley*.

Proofs.

1. *Griffins Affidavit*: He carried a parcell of China or Jappan ware from Batavia to Bangal often declaring the same to be his own untill in Bangal a Cask of said Ware was Damaged and then he declared the said Ware was for the Owners Account.
2. *Griffin and Grists Affidavit*: He received a Sum of Money of Mr. Boon¹ for Freight of Goods which Freight he declared was his own Priviledge and so the Owners defrauded thereof.
3. *Grists Affidavit*: At Batavia he ordered the Purser to charge in his Account a larger quantity of Beef than he really had of the Butcher to defraud the Owners of the value thereof.
4. *Griffin and Grists Affidavitts*: Mr. Janse Moore² at Batavia agreed to pay Capt. Tolson 500 Rix Dollers for Demorage which 500 Dollers he proposed to Mr. Griffin and Grist clandestinely to share among them and so to defraud the Owners.
5. Captn. Tolson has denied all the foregoing but think shall prove it plainly to appeare, and as a proof of his prevaricating he avouched here before the Owners as *vixt*.
 - 5a *Invoice, Mr. Sheldon's: Owners and Officers*. That in Bangal he bought but 2 Chests of Opium for himself and the Carpenter &ca. and offerd to lay £3000 on the same till Mr. Sheldons Invoice was produced which Proved 3 Chests³.

¹ Charles Boone, elected writer in Bengal under the Old Company in 1704. He afterwards became President of Bombay.

² "Janse Moore" is called "Jno Moor" by Grist in Paper 65. He was probably a Dutch merchant who had settled at Batavia.

³ See Paper 66. The "Carpenter" was Jarrat Cutberson. Paper 84 adds as "proofs" "Griffin and Grists Affidavitts" and "Buying Opium for the Carpenter by J. Tolsons own confession"

- 5b. *Ditto are witness to his Assertion.* That the Bond he gave Captn. Rawlins¹ at the Cape was worded to be part for his own and part for the ships Account.
- 5c. *Bond to Rawlins proves.* Whereas the Bond proves the Money to be all for the Ships Account
6. In the Articles between the Above parties it is Covenanted as *vizt*
- 6a. *Griffin and Grist Affidavit:* That he shall keep a Wast Book² and Journall—which he did not doe.
- 6b. *Griffin and Grist's Affidavits and his own Confession as to the Carpenter:* That he shall not Trade for himselfe nor others than the Owners—which he did doe by carrying Arrack from Batavia to Bangal and Opium &ca. from Bangal to Batavia, and buying Opium for the Carpenter &ca.
- 6c. That he shall Observe and follow the Lawfull Orders, Directions and Instructions of the Owners—which he did not doe in the following particulars.

Instructions³.

- 7
- 7a. *Do.* Orderd not to Trade in Arrack or Opium—which he did as before said.
- 7b. *Griffin and Grist Affidavits:* Ordered not to take Goods on Freight from India to England, the Owners fearing a forfeiture of the Ship and Cargo by so doing—But he did doe it by taking 3 Bales of Muslins from Capt. Hudson and Captn. Haslewood⁴.
- 7c. *Do.* Orderd, when departed from the last Loading Port in India, then to sign Bills of Loading, Consigning all the Cargo to Thos. Bowrey & Co. in England—which he did not doe⁵.

¹ Possibly Captain Richard Rawlins, or Rawlings, a friend of the Trenchfield and Scattergood families and a member of the "Pillow" (Pilau) Club, London. He is frequently mentioned in the "Scattergood Papers," for the story of which see *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I, Supplement.

² A rough account book in which entries are made of all transactions to be posted afterwards to more formal books: e.g. the journal and ledger.

³ No copy of the original Instructions has been traced.

⁴ Captain Henry Hudson of the East India Company's ship *Halifax*, sailed to India in February 1705/6, and was in Bengal at the same time as Tolson. He reached Kinsale in November 1707 (*Court Book*, XLII, 134, 761).

Captain John Hazlewood (or Haselwood) commanded the *Hester* (or *Loyall Hester*) which anchored at Fort William 18 November 1705, the same day as the *Mary Galley*, and was subsequently lost in the Persian Gulf in 1707 (see *Court Book*, XLII, 771).

⁵ These paragraphs are scored through in the original. In Paper 84 it is said that "Griffin and Grist's Affidavits proves by not advising on going to Persia and by Grist's not knowing he was Ordered to Act."

- 7d. *Grist's Affidavit*. Orderd That all matters of Trade in Buying, selling &ca. be done by the Cheifs in Comission with the knowledg and Advice of the 2d and 3d in Comission—which he did not doe, but without adviseing with them bought Cassia lignum and long peper¹, good for nothing, and sold Lead at Ballasore much under the Calcutta price when was bound thither &ca.
- 7e. *Griffin and Grist's Affidavits &ca.* Orderd, That all future Orders from the Owners be deliverd to Mr. Jos: Dupuy and Mr. Elias Grist to take Copies thereof—which he did not doe.
- 7f. *Griffins Affidavitt and J.T.'s Letter Sept. 28, 1707*. Orderd To bring no Redwood²—which he did bring. All the foregoing Orders signed by him to Obey.
8. *His Letters of the 8 & 25 Dec. 1705 proves he received said Orders*. Orders sent him by Captn. Hurle and Captn. Burgis dated Novr. 16th 1704³.
- 8a. *Griffin and Grist affidavitts*. Orderd To buy but 30 Tonns of Saltpetre—He bought 92 Tonns which together with the Redwood and other Goods aboard must overlade the Ship and thereby might occasion the Loss.
- 8b. *Grist's Affidavit*. Orderd To goe from Batavia to Persia—which he did not doe, neither did he shew the Orders, nor Consult thereon with those in Comission with him⁴.
- 8c. Orderd, To keep an Account of expences to be Signed Weekly—which was not done⁵.
- 8d. *Grist's Affidavit*. Orderd, That Mr. Grist should Act in the Comission—which he did not informe him of.

[Damages claimed.]

1. *Articles*. To breach of all or any One of the foregoing Orders he is Debtor for the Penalty of his Articles which is £2000, but (the Damage to the Owners being much more), is Submitted to the Judgment of the Arbitrator what damage to Allow

¹ *Cassia lignea*, the bark of a tree found in Sumatra, the Malabar Coast, etc., resembling cinnamon in appearance, smell and taste.

Long pepper is the fruit spike, gathered and dried when not quite ripe, of *Piper officinarum* and *Piper longum*.

² Redwood, also called Sappan-wood and Brazil-wood, the wood of the *Caesalpinia sappan* (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Sappan wood).

³ The date "8 Dec." is an error for "12 Dec." For Tolson's letters of 12 and 25 December 1705 see Papers 59 and 60. For the owners' letter of 16 November 1704 see Paper 49. Tolson acknowledged its receipt at Calcutta, per Captain John Hurle, in his letter of 12 December (Paper 59).

⁴ Paper 84 adds as "proofs" "*Grist's Affidavit and J. Tolson's Letters dated the 9 May and 28 July 1706*." The letter of 9 May does not exist; for that of 28 July 1706, see Paper 72.

⁵ Scored through.

£ s. d

2. *Instru: fol: 18, 19¹ and his Letter Dec. 8 [12], 1705 Grist's Affidavit.* To Demorage at Batavia from the 24 May to the 12th Augt 1706² (being all that time trifling and unresolved what Voyage to goe, not consulting thereon with those in Commission with him) is 80 Days at 23 Rix Dollers per day as was the Price Agreed with Janse Moore which at 4s per Doller is 368 - -
 3. To about 4 Pecool of Beef overchargd at Batavia which he defrauded the Owners of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ Rix Dollers at 4s [sic MS.] 3 2 8
 4. *Griffin and Grist's Affidavits.* To 2 Pecool of Cloves which was gained in the Weight at Batavia which he defrauded the Owners of, at 110 Rix Dollers per Pecool as cost in Batavia at 4s is 44 - -
 5. *Grist's Affidavit.* To 3 Hogsheads of the Owners Beer which he took for his own Account and sold for 180 Rix Dollers, out of which deduct 10 Rix Dollers for Cape Wine drank in Lieu thereof, remains 170 Rix Dollers at 4s 34 - -
 6. *Griffins Affidavit.* To 20 ps. 8/8 he Charged to the Owners for a Gun returned in Leiu of a Present of the Owners given to the Dutch Cheif at Padang 5 - -
 7. *J. Ts account and Griffin.* To 190 Rix Dollers lent Elias Grist at Bottomree or otherwise, which he having no Power to lend was therefore on his own Account, at 4s.³ is 38 - -
- (This and the next Article: Query Arbitrator if doe not Allow for them to declare the Owners may seek their Releif of the Persons concerned?)
8. *J. Ts Letter Oct. 17, 1707⁴ Quere how forced to pay it.* To 330 Rix Dollers he paid Mr. J. Moore on Account Jos: Dupuy as the said 190 Dollers at 4s.³ is 66 - -
 9. To an Error comitted by him in an Account with Mr. J. Moore 529 Rix Dollers to the Owners pre-judice at 4s. is⁵ 105 16 -
 10. *Show J. T. the Invoice: ask if right. Griffins account.* To money he had in Bangal more than

¹ The document to which these figures refer has not been traced.

² This statement fixes the date of Tolson's departure from Batavia the second time, a date not elsewhere recorded.

³ Paper 84 adds: "Griffin will prove he offered to lend the Money." For Tolson's remarks on these two sums advanced by him see p. 290.

⁴ See Paper 76, postscript.

⁵ Paragraph 9 is scored through in the original.

£ s. d.

Invested in Goods Rupees 2902, out of which is to be deducted what is a reasonable Expence for the Ship, for Pilotage up and down and for Provisions for 24 Men for 11 months, the remainder he is Debtor to the Owners is Rupees [2948] ¹ at 2s. 6 per Rupee is		[368 10 -] ¹
11. <i>Mr. Russells account</i> ² · <i>Griffin, Grist</i> [witness] <i>to the Loss</i> . To Lead value Rups. 3804 sold Mr. Shaw ³ at Ballasore to deliver him at Calcutta, when at the same time he was bound thither, by which sale was lost about 20 per Cent, is Rups. 760 to the Owners prejudice at 2s. 6d. is	95	- -
12. <i>J. T.</i> To a Slave Boy of the Owners which he has now in Possession ⁴	20	- -
13. To Money borrowed (120 ps 8/8) of Capt. Rawlins at the Cape more than was expended there for the Ships use; the same leave to Judgment ⁵		
14. To Mismanagements which occasioned the Loss of the Ship and Cargoe ⁶		
15. <i>Bond to Rawlins. Griffins Affidavit. What expended: Quere Gaming?</i> To the overpluss of 120 ps. 8/8 borrowed of Captn Rawlins at the Cape for the ships use, deducting therefrom what the Arbitrator shall Judge reasonable for the Ships Expences there ⁶		

Mismanagements which occasioned the Loss of the Ship.

1. *Griffin, Grist & ca.* Not bearing down to the Dutch Fleet when could have done it.
2. *Griffin, Grist, Studds & ca.* Not getting up a new Maintopmast, when the Carpenter told him that the Maintopmast was sprung, and had the oportunity of Calme weather off Faro, to gett up the new Topmast.
3. *Do.* Not going to Norway because the Men would not agree to have no Wages for the time they should lye there above one Month—Whereas he had no such Orders.

¹ These figures are taken from Paper 84. "Overplus of 2948 rupees: show J T. the Invoice and ask if right. Griffins account."

² See Paper 105.

³ Stephen Shaw, a free merchant. See C. R. Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, 1, 4, 13, 14, 62, etc

⁴ See Tolson's letter of 15 November 1707 (Paper 77) as to the "Slave Boy."

⁵ Paragraphs 13 and 14 are scored through in the original

⁶ Paper 84 says that this point is proved "by the Bond to Captn. Rawlins; Expences at the Cape, Partly by Griffins Affidavit."

[Miscellaneous Damages.]

1. Sharing a considerable parcell of Diamonds between him and his Cheife Mate some days before was Taken, which gives Suspicion and is the Opinion of some of the Ships crew that the Ship was designedly given away with an Intent to save those Diamonds for their own use¹.
2. *T. Studs, R. Griffin*. Bearing down to the French Men of Warr, when was some Miles to windward of them.

[Endorsed]: Owners Demands and Proofs.

Paper 88.

[Tolson's Counter-claim against the Owners.]

An account [of] what Time the undermention'd people Serv'd on Board the *Mary Galley*, vizt.

Mens Names ^a	Time of Entry	Discharg'd	Whole Mo.	Time Days	Wt per Month £ s.	£	s	d.
Richard Griffin	Oct. 14. 1704	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	6 0	156	—	—
Geo: Dungey	Do.	Apl. 14. 1705	6	0 @	4 0	24	—	—
Jar: Cuthbeatson	Do.	Dec. 14. 1706	26	0 @	5 0	130	—	—
Jno: Eliott	Do	Do.	26.	0 @	3 5	84	10	—
Elias Grist	Do.	June 14. 1706	20	0 @	3 10	70	—	—
Thos: Studs	Do	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	3 0	78	—	—
Ben: Hancock	Do.	Do.	26.	0 @	3 0	78	—	—
Jno: Painter	Do.	Aug. 5. 1706	21.	21 @	3 15	81	10	—
Francis Trimer	Do.	Aug. 5. 1705	9.	21 @	4 0	39	—	—
Mar: Sheilds	Do.	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	2 5	58	10	—
Geo: Nerne	Do.	Do.	26	0 @	1 10	39	—	—
Jno: Redshaw	Do.	Nov. 19. 1705	13.	5 @	2 5	11	15 ³	—
Samll Turfoot	Do.	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	2 5	58	10	—
Arch. Wightman	Do.	June 1. 1706	19.	17 @	2 5	44	—	6
Jno: Mitchell	Do.	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	2 5	58	10	—
Jno: Rottery	Do	May 22. 1705	7.	8 @	2 5	16	7	—
Danll: Bowden	Do	Dec. 14. 1706	26.	0 @	1 0	26	—	—
Mordica Eve	June 2. 1706	Do.	6.	12 @	1 10	9	12	—
Francis Diton ⁴	Do.		6.	12 @	1 10	9	12	—
Wm: Herrington	Aug 2. 1706		4.	12 @	2 0	8	16	—
James Johnson	June 23. 1706		5.	21 @	1 10	8	11	—
Jacob Kirkson	" 30 "		5.	14 @	1 10	8	4	—
Jno: Godfry	Aug. 10 "		4.	4 @	1 10	6	4	—
Samll: Willkison	July 4 "		5.	10 @	1 10	8	—	—

£1112 11 6

¹ See Tolson's remarks on the "dimentts" in his letter of 13 May 1708, ante, Paper 78, p. 297. See also Paper 102. This paragraph is scored through in the original.

² See Papers 23 and 24 for these men and for variations in the spelling of the names.

³ See next paragraph, p. 316, for a deduction here.

⁴ An error for "Whitton." See Paper 24.

As to the First of my demands contain'd in the Articles of Arbitration 'tis 26 Months wages for my Self and Servant at £11 per Mo. as also to be reimbursed £14. 17. 6 which I accounted with Redshaw for (in the Payment of his wages) for eating at my Table.

My third demand is £556 5. 9 being one half part of the Marriners wages as above

Your proportion of Mr. [Elias] Dupuys Share of the Mariners wages being £46 7. 1 $\frac{3}{4}$

Your proportion of Mr. Grist's Share of the Mariners wages being £23. 3 6 $\frac{3}{4}$

[Endorsed]: Captain Tolson's demand for the Owners and Servants and crews wages

Paper 89.

[Arbitration Award of John Clarke in the case of the Owners of the *Mary Galley* vs. Tolson.]

[18 Aug. 1708].

TO all people to whom this present Writing of Award indented of two parts shall come I John Clarke¹ of Tower Hill London Marriner send greeting

WHEREAS in and by certeyn Articles of Agreement indented bearing date the Nineteenth day of July last past before the date of these presents made or mentioned to be made between Thomas Bowrey Thomas Hammond George Jackson Elias Dupuy Richard Tolson and Elias Grist of London Merchants late Part Owners of the Ship *Mary Gally* according to their respective parts and shares in the said Ship and the Cargo thereof thereunto Subscribed with their names of the one part and Joseph Tolson of London Marriner late Comander and Supracargo and one Sixth part Owner of the said ship and Cargo of the other part reciteing to the effect following *Vizt.*

WHEREAS divers disputes differences and Controversies had arisen between the said parties touching and concerning Sundry demands made by the said Part Owners some or any of them on the said Joseph Tolson for damages by them sustained for divers matters and things relateing to the said Ship *Mary Gally* and her Cargo or Cargoes on an East India Voyage lately made by the said Joseph Tolson in the said ship and his transactions relateing to the said ship and Voyage as Comander and Supracargo thereof and otherwise The particular Articles whereof are therein (and

¹ Captain John Clarke may be identical with Captain J. Clarke of the *Loyall Cook* and with Captain John Clarke who purchased "Canes" (rattans) at a sale of the cargo of the East India Company's ship *Caesar* in 1707 (see *Court Book*, XLII, 682).

hereinafter) specified For all which the said Part Owners or such of them as are Subscribers thereunto demand to be satisfied for their Shares or proportions of Such damages *Vizt*¹.

* * * * *

NOW KNOWE that I the said John Clarke having heard and examined the severall Allegations and pretensions of the said Thomas Bowrey Thomas Hammond George Jackson and Joseph Tolson touching and concerning the said premisses and matters in difference and maturely considered thereupon Doe make publish and declare this my Award of and upon the said premisses and matters in difference in manner following that is to say INPRIS [IMPRIMIS] I doe Award and Order That the said Joseph Tolson his executors administrators or assignes doe well and truly pay or cause to be paid to the said Thomas Bowrey Thomas Hammond and George Jackson severally their severall executors administrators or assignes at or in the now Office of John Bodicoate and John Tushingham Scituate in Lombard Street London On the Twenty Eighth day of this instant August [one line left blank²] in full of all the disputes differences controversies Actions cause and causes of Actions Claymes and demands whatsoever which they the said Thomas Bowrey Thomas Hammond and George Jackson or either or any of them have or hath against him the said Joseph Tolson touching or relating to the matters and things submitted to Arbitration as aforesaid the severall Summes of lawfull money of Great Britain following that is to say To the said Thomas Bowrey his executors administrators or assignes the Summe of Thirteen pounds and ten Shillings to the said Thomas Hammond his executors administrators or assignes the Summe of Two pounds and Five shillings and to the said George Jackson his executors administrators or assignes the Summe of Two pounds and Five shillings

IN WITNESS whereof I the said John Clarke have to two parts of this my Award indented Set my hand and Seale the Eighteenth

¹ At this point follows a summarised statement of the "particular Articles" forming the definite charges against Tolson, but as they are practically a recapitulation of Paper 87, especially of that portion which has been printed as "Damages claimed," they are not reprinted here. After this summary there are five long paragraphs of legal phraseology binding all the parties to the arbitration award, making it a long document. As they do not relate to the actual story of the case, they, too, have not been printed.

² It should have been filled in "£18. 0. 0," being the sum of the payments respectively to Bowrey, Hammond and Jackson, the solvent owners, the others, Elias Dupuy, Richard Tolson, and Elias Grist having become apparently insolvent.

day of August Anno Domini 1708 Annoq: RRnæ: Annæ Magn:
Britan: &c Sept:

J. CLARKE

SEALED and delivered (being duly stamp't) in the presence of

JOHN BODICOATE

JOHN TUSHINGHAM

[Endorsed]: Capt. John Clarkes Award.

Paper 90.

[Bowrey's Memorandum after the two Arbitrations.]

[between 19 July and 18 Aug. 1708].

Generall Noats for [as to] Answe[rs] on both Arbitrations¹.

About J. T. near runing ashoar on the Nicobar Ilands.

Before the Owners and Officers he asserted that he had but two Chests of Opium from Bangal for himself, Carpenter, &ca., on which T. B. produced Mr. Sheldons Invoice² for 3 Chests to him.

J. T. told Mr. Griffin at his first coming that Hee and others had not done well in taking 23 mo. wages, for that there due was 26 mo. and that by this means he, the said J. T. should lose 3 mo., or the like words.

J. T. Intimated to Mr. Grist that he would informe of the Dollers &ca. sent in the ship, that thereby Bow[rey mig]ht be prejudiced, to which Grist answered that such infor[?mation woul]d³ be worst on himselfe, for that he was Sworn, &ca.

Opium: 3 Chests, Cape. About Chest[s of] Opium—asserted was but 2. Mr. Sheldons Invoice proves 3 Chests.

J. T. asserted to the Owners that the Bond he gave Captain Rawlins at the Cape was worded to be part for his own and part for the ships account.

Said before Captain Dorrell⁴ that I had Instructed the Men (intimating Griffin and Grist) what to sweare Or to that effect.

Severall times has said to me that they would swear what I would have them.

Said the Mutton and Veal at Gravesend⁵ was to treat my Family. Intimated before the Owners that I had taken the Dollers wanting.

¹ This is the endorsement of the document and shows that the arbitrators took oral evidence.

² See Paper 66.

³ There is a hole in the document where the suggestion in square brackets has been inserted

⁴ Captain John Dorrill commanded the East India Company's ship *Charles the Second* in her voyage to India and Persia 1695-98.

⁵ It was hardly worthy of Bowrey to rake up this old grievance about which he had already shown much irritation in October 1704 (see Paper 40).

Mr. Dolliff. Questioned which Mr. Dolliffe I meant and if not two of that name.

About Hancocks wages—is not yett demanded, by reason Tolson will endeavour to gett him 26 mo, he being to have about 20 mo. of it Tolson has paid Griffin [and] Terfoot at 23 mo.

Not to goe on the Infamous Articles untill J. T. begins to Slander the Evidence.

Arrest: Told Captain Clarke he was affraid to appeare to make his defence least I should arrest him¹.

Elias Grist's Share in the Quarrel

Elias Grist, the purser of the *Mary Galley*, appears to be the villain of the piece and the prime mover in the charges brought against Tolson for his behaviour in the East. In his letter reporting the capture of the ship (Paper 75) he shows that the first thing in his mind was to secure as much as he could for himself out of the mishap to the owners' fortunes: "I have much more to Say, but shall Deferr till Arriv'd in England, Where shall Expect to be informed what part of the Summ of £4080 is remaining behind, in order to receive my Dividend." There is also a claim put forward by him (Paper 91) for £28. 15s. 6d. for money lent and "Slops" served out by him to some of the crew of the *Mary Galley*. It does not appear that any notice was ever taken of this claim, and the statement is only valuable as furnishing additional information about the men who served in the ship.

Next, there is a document, dated Dunkirk, 25 October 1707, signed by Joseph Dupuy and Richard Griffin (Paper 92), regarding money advanced by John Moor to Grist when he was accidentally left behind at Batavia in 1705, and paid by Tolson on his behalf. In this document it is stated that it was agreed between Tolson and Grist that "in case of the miscarrying of the said ship," the debt was "to be void." Apart from the unlikelihood of such an agreement, it must be remembered that the signatories were at loggerheads with Tolson, and therefore the document reads like a piece of "manufactured" evidence and is an indication of Grist's character and of the value of his assertions. Nevertheless,

¹ The last entry is scored through in the original.

this matter subsequently formed part of the claim submitted by the owners to John Clarke for arbitration, and was very properly ignored by him.

On his return to England early in 1708, Grist continued his campaign against Tolson, and before 22 March he, with Griffin, Elliott, and Cutberson the carpenter had all been cross-examined by Bowrey, evidently at the instigation of the purser, on the behaviour of their late captain, and had made statements against him (Paper 93). From Grist's letter of 19 May 1708 (Paper 94) it is clear that some of the statements had been referred to the accused party, who naturally denied them. Grist, however, stuck to his guns, gave Tolson the lie, and requested Bowrey "to Gitt in" his money as soon as possible. In the same letter Grist touches on other charges which were ignored by the arbitrators, among which is a very shady proposal to share 500 dollars belonging to the owners between himself, Griffin and Tolson, a proposal which he declared was originated by the captain. Further, he makes spiteful remarks against Tolson's character and says he "never Knew him speak well of any man besides Captain Jones."

This letter of 19 May 1708 bore much fruit, for Bowrey then started on a further campaign against Tolson. A week later, 26 May, he had made up his mind to procure an affidavit from Grist, and in order to do so he sent him a list of 22 questions (Paper 95), which Grist answered. At the same time Grist sent a cautious and carefully worded letter (Paper 96) dealing with some of the queries more fully, but his language is guarded and he was evidently anxious to avoid implicating himself in any alleged mismanagement. The letter contains a remarkable paragraph about Tolson's neglecting to go to Persia as ordered in his instructions (Paper 49): "And as to your orders concerning our going for Persia from Batavia, when there the second time. I own I saw that Letter sometime after by a Mischance, and conceal'd itt with some other papers 'till our last Missfortune. However, I am well assur'd your orders as to that pointe were not absolute, but upon provisoes and att that Juncture

our Stock was vastly short of £3000 Sterling. Neither were we ever possess'd of so much Cash at a time while we were in India, as the Calcutta Account will make appear." On reading this one wonders whether there could have been any real complaint against Tolson on that score. At any rate this communication did not strengthen or even fairly support the case against him.

Grist was evidently a persistent man, and he must have pursued the matter of the sharing the 500 dollars further, as on 27 June, John Elliott, the ship's doctor, wrote a very ill-spelt letter, even for the time, to Bowrey supporting the charge. Finally, on 9 August 1708, between the agreement to arbitrate on 19 July and the arbitration award on 18 August (the fact of arbitration being in progress must have been known to him), Grist again wrote to Bowrey "to consider the Debts due from the Ships Company to me." He had not, however, much hope of success, for he adds: "There can be no policy in Serving you farther to my Cost."

Paper 91.

[Grist's Claim against the Crew of the *Mary Galley*.]

[a]

Men on board the *Mary Gally* indebted to the Purser For money Lent, and Slops¹ serv'd out by order of Joseph Tolson Commander, *Vist*.

¹ In a merchant ship, just as in a man-of-war, the purser kept a slop-chest containing clothing for sale to the men. In *The Royal Navy, A History*, II, 104, Sir Wm. Laird Clowes writes "Slop-clothes were for sale on board every ship. . . in 1655 the prices of slops were thus fixed: .

	s.	d.
Canvas jackets	1	10
Canvas drawers	1	8
Cotton waistcoats	2	2
Cotton drawers	2	0
Shirts	2	9
Shoes, per pair	2	9
Linen stockings, per pair		10
Cotton stockings, per pair		10."

	£	s.	d.
James Goodman Boatswain, Run from the Ship att Calcutta	2	11	0
Francis Trimmer, Carpenters Mate, cast [dismissed] att Batavia ¹	1	15	9
John Redshaw Foremast Man discharg'd att Calcutta ²	3	9	—
Samuell Wood, Cook, Runaway att the Cape	2	10	—
Thomas Ramsay, Taylor, Runaway att Ditto	2	13	6
James Jonce Foremastman discharg'd att ditto	2	11	6
Joseph Ford, ditto, Run away att Bencola	1	2	—
Samuell Turfoot taken in the Ship	1	12	6
Will Smith Run away att Bencola	1	0	0
Mioto ³ , the black Cook, a Slave	1	12	6
John Mitchell, Boatswain, taken in the Ship	10	—	—
Bollman Johnson ⁴ , a Dutchman, run away att Calcutta	1	18	—
John ⁵ , the Dutch Sail maker, run att Calcutta	5	—	—
Samuell Wilkinson taken in the Ship ⁶	1	10	—
John Godfrey, a Dutchman, deceast in Dunkirk of his wounds in the Engagement	1	10	—
Jacob Kerkson a Dutchman died of his wounds	1	—	—
John ⁷ Johnson, Dutchman, taken in the Ship	1	—	—
Mordecay Eve in France.	5	—	—
	£28	15	9

[b]

The Forme of the Receipts Given me by the abovesaid persons now lost:

“Received of Captn. Joseph Tolson for Service done on board the *Mary Gally* being the amount of the Goods of Elias Grist purser.”

[Endorsed in T. B.'s writing]: Mr. Grist's Account of Debts due from the Crew of the *Mary Gally*.

¹ According to Paper 23, he died at Batavia, 5 August 1705

² John Redshaw appears to have come home as a passenger, at the charge of Ralph Sheldon (see Appendix to Paper 93).

³ The black cook is called Nicolo in Paper 24.

⁴ This was one of the three Dutchmen shipped at Batavia, who are not named in Paper 24.

⁵ Also one of the three Dutchmen as above.

⁶ In Paper 24 Wilkinson is said to have been discharged in Bengal.

⁷ He is called James in Paper 24.

Paper 92.

[Affidavit by Joseph Dupuy and Richard Griffin as to
Grist's Debt to Tolson¹.]

Dunkirk, Oct: 25th, 1707.

Be it known to all persons whome these may concerne that we whose names are hereunto subscribed doe per these presents attest and affirme that the 190 Rix dollers which was lent to Elias Grist when left behind at Batavia by Mr. John Moore and was paid him againe by Capt. J. Tolson Comander of the Ship *Mary Gally* at the returne of the said Ship out of the ships Stock was per agreement between the aforesaid Comander and the said Elias Grist as follows

First that upon the safe Arrivall of the said *Mary Gally* in the River of Thames from her then present Voiage the said Elias Grist should pay to Captain Thomas Bowrey and Owners of the aforesaid Ship the sum of £38 sterling it being the value of the aforesaid 190 Rix Dollers and whatever sum more for the Intrest of the said Money that the Owners of the said ship should think Just and reasonable. But in case of the miscarrying of the said ship in her then Voiage then the debt to be void and the said Sum not due

That this was actually agreed upon between the said Joseph Tolson and Elias Grist in reference to the said Money wee here attest and will give our Oaths to the truth of it occasion requiring the same.

JOS. DUPUY
RICHD. GRIFFIN

Paper 93.

[Bowrey's Note on the Statements of Grist, Griffin, Elliott
and the Carpenter on the Conduct of the *Mary Galley's*
Officers on the Voyage to the East.]

[Before 22nd March 1707/8]

Delivered out of the *Mary Gally* in the Voyage Homeward
from the Cape.

[Informers]

Carpenter To the *Frederick*, Captain Wynn², 30 cwt. very good
Mr. Griffin rice, 2300 *li.*; 1 Puncheon Pork, 80 ps. 4 *li.* each
Carpenter To the *Loyall Cook*. . . . 10 cwt. Do. Rice

¹ This document is a copy in Bowrey's hand.

² See Paper 78, note 8 on p. 292.

[Informers]

- To the *Leghorn Gally*¹ when the *Mary* [was] Outward bound, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Barrell of Pitch or more and some Cordage Mr. Griffin say[s it] is paid for. Query how?
- Mr. Grist says the Cooper² dyed at the Cape homeward bound, that he the Cooper had run out his Wages in the Ships debt. That most of the men are but little in the Ships debt.
- Carpenter says Captain Tolson sent Goods home to his Wife by the Companys Ships from Bangall
- Mr. Griffin says Captain did not carry the £20 out which had of the Owners. That the Captain had no Goods out of England but a Cask wine which he had of Mr. Hammond and a few Pickles.
- Ditto says Mr. Grist had of the Ships Money 190 Rix dollers³ of Captain Tolson to pay debts. Query if at Bottomree and if Captain Tolson had authority to lend at Bottomree.

March the 22d 1707/8.

- Mr. Grist & Elliot At the Horn in Southwark⁴. Present Mr. T. Gillott⁵. Informed us, vizt.
- Mr. Griffin carried out about £50 in Money.
- Captain Tolson carried out what Wine he had of Mr. Hammond.
- Sometime in the Passage outward declared he brought out £25 and then had but about £15 of it left, and said he had lost the rest at Play.
- Demanded 200 Dollers of Jan Semore⁶, who not sending it Immediately, the Captain quarrelled with him. Jan Semore told him it was for a Lowndee⁷, and that it was better kept for his Owners account, &ca.
- A Ton strong beer of the ships he sold.

¹ See Paper 57 for Tolson's meeting, outward bound, with Captain Jacob Wright of the *Leghorn* frigate at the Cape when that ship was on her homeward voyage in 1705.

² John Painter, cooper and steward, died at Batavia 5 August 1706 (Paper 23); there is no record of his successor. Here is an intimation that the fleet touched at the Cape homeward bound (see Paper 99).

³ See *ante*, Paper 87, p. 313.

⁴ This inn has not been traced.

⁵ Thomas Gillott was one of Bowrey's tenants. He rented the King's Head, Southwark, of him at this date.

⁶ For "Jan Semore" read "Janse More" (see Paper 87) or "John Moor" (see Papers 65 and 68).

⁷ I have failed to trace this term. It may be a form of "loan," as the sixteenth century spelling of that word is given in the *O.E.D.* as "londe."

[Appendix to the above paper.]

- Query.* What value in Gold brought from Batavia?
 What Profit on Lead?
 What Charges and Customs at Madrass?
 Compare the whole produce with the Bangal Invoice
 J. T. offered to sweare he had no more Papers, but now by reason of the Cloves, produces this
- Query.* J. T. if has seen the Letter to the Carpenter, then produce the Letter and argue the validity
 J. T. to be accountable to T. B. from [*sic*, ? for] any wages he, said T. B., shall be forced to pay for J. T's own part and his share of Grist and Dupuys parts.
 Griffin and Grist to sign a Noat about what Money J. T. received of Mr. Sheldon for Redshaws passage and learning¹, and how they came to know it and if any elce knows it.

Paper 94.

[Grist's Statements as to his Debt to Tolson.]

May the 19th 1708.

Captain Bowrey, Sir, I am inform'd Captain Tolson avouches to you and the other Owners that the 190 Rix Dollers paid Mr. Moor for my accountt was not to runn upon the Bottom of the Ship and the primium, or advance upon it, [but] to be left to the Discretion of the Owners att the safe arrivall of the Ship.

I wonder he should affirme soe known an Untruth, when in Mr. Griffins Hearing and alsoe in Mr. Dupuys, more then once or twice, this was the verbal agreement, that in case of the Loss of the Ship, that Debt to be null and void². And when we first discourst concerning that Debt, Griffin was by, and offered to pay Mr. Moor the money for my account, in case the Captain was not free to pay itt. Alsoe was paid out of the Ships stock near double the Summ for the account of Mr. Dupuy, on the very same Terms. And consequently the Owners may, with the same Equity, make a Demand of the money from Mr. Dupuy, as stopp any part of my Wages or Ships Debts upon that account.

And againe, Sir, att the juncture when this money was paid, how inconsistent must itt be with your Interest, nay with common Reason, to lessen the Ships Stock upon any other Terms then

¹ See *ante*, note 2 on p. 322. As Redshaw, late foremastman, was to have "passage and learning," it looks as if Sheldon had paid for him to be instructed so as to take a better position.

² See *ante*, p. 319, for remarks on this transaction.

the Bottom of the Ship, especially considering the smallness of itt, and that there was no necessity for itt, because I could be supplied by another Hand. And if the money was Lent upon any other Terms (as itt was not), then the primium would have made but a small amount to the Debt.

When I saw Captain Tolson last, I show'd him the Terms wee agreed on in Refference to that money. All his answer was, he could not remember itt. But I find he can remember and forgett as suits best his Convenience.

And, Sir, as to that Objection about paying my part of wages Due to the Ships Company, that does concerne me Solely. Some of them are more indebted to me then my Share amounts too, and if any of them, for favours shown them in the voyage and out of Consideration to my present Circumstances, should be easy as to that matter, none of the Owners will suffer on that Account.

Therefore, I crave the favour of you, Sir, to Gitt in my money as soon as possible.

As to that matter concerning the 592 Rix Dollers said to be twice Charg'd in Mr. Moors Account Current, all I can say to the matter [is that] I writt after a Coppy, and as Captain Tolson Dictated, the account was delivered to him, and he only Received the Ballance. And if Mr. Moors pay'd that Summ less then his Due, 'tis my Beleif itt was not with Desine, because that after he took his Account from me, in order to know the Ballance Due from him, he came the next morning and say'd he was not sattsify'd with that account, because Captain Tolson had not Gave him Creditt for One half of some Charge he was att in Getting his Goods ashore, itt being, as he affirm'd, agreed soe between them, and brought an Account that he made up, affirming the Ballance came Short of the Captains Demand.

Now the Querie lays, if he was sensible of his Advantage, why would he not rather be Quiett and sett down the Gainer, rather then occasion the overlooking the Account againe, which must have found out the mistake, unless itt must be allow'd him to be a very honest Gentleman, as most that ever dealt with him avouch. But as to Captain Tolson's Character of him, I don't wonder att itt, for I never Knew him speak well of any man, besides Captain Jones¹.

And as to that other business, concerning the Sharing the 500 Dollers that Mr. Moor allow'd for Demorage, if I was to appear before the Tribunal of God to morrow, I could with Safety Swear

¹ Probably Captain Jones, who commanded the Company's ship *Tavistock*. He sailed for England in February 1704/5 and may have encountered Tolson at the Cape

the minute before that (to the best of my memory) on Monday Evening, Captain Tolson, Mr. Griffin and my Self being att Mr. Vanderbegs¹ att Batavia, he spoke to us to come with him into his Chamber, and having Shutt to the Door, made to us the following proposition, *Vizt.*, that in order for sharing the 500 Dollers, he would first take out $\frac{1}{6}$ part, as being $\frac{1}{6}$ part Owner; that I should have $\frac{1}{24}$ part out for the same reason, and then the remainder should be divided in fifths, he taking two fifths, and the remaining $\frac{3}{5}$ to be equally divided between Mr Griffin and me².

Tis well for him Dupuy is absent and Griffin and I at variance. Otherways this part of the world would be too Hott to hold him.

I am inform'd, Sir, that my Name is sign'd to severall of Captain Tolsons papers. I am sensible [that] to some that Mr. Griffin and Mr. Dupuy sign'd too, I sign'd alsoe, but I am fully assur'd to none of any vast importance in the latter part of the voyage.

I begg pardon, Sir, for being soe tedious, and am, Sir, Your Humble Servant, E GRIST

[Addressed]: To Capt: Tho. Bowrey, In Marine Square, near Rattcliff Highway. Present.

Paper 95.

[Grist's Evidence to Bowrey in the Case against Tolson.]

May 26: 1708.

Mr. Grist, In order to draw the form of an Affidavitt for your Attesting I desire your Answer to the following Queries relating to Captain Tolson³:

[Q. 1]. If in the Voyage Outward bound he did declare in your hearing that he brought out of England but about £25 and that then he had but about £15 of it left and that he had lost the rest at Play.

[A. 1]. Capt. Tolson in my hearing affirm'd he had £35 in a Bagg at first, and what wanting lost att Gaming in the outward bound voyage⁴.

Q. 2]. If he sold 3 Hogshead of the Strong Beer allowd for the Table at Padang and took the Produce in Gold out of the Owners Concerns sold there, which was part for Dollers, on which was no profit.

¹ This is the individual to whom Tolson paid 150 dollars at Batavia see Paper 61, p. 260).

² For remarks on this alleged transaction, see *ante*, p. 320.

³ The Queries are in Bowrey's and the Answers in Grist's hand.

⁴ This Answer is scored through.

- [A. 2]. The first time the Ship was att Padang Captain Tolson informd me that the Tunn of Bear allow'd by the Owners for the Table, he took itt for his proper account, in Consideration of Cape Wyne¹ drank att the Table, 3 hogsheads of which being sold for about 180 Rix Dollers, and no Creditt given the ships stock for the same, of consequence he put the said Summ in his pockett.
- [Q. 3]. What Profit on Gold from Padang to Batavia².
- [A. 3]. Capt. Tolsons Letters from Battavia will make Appeare³.
- [Q. 4]. If he ever informed you that he had our Orders in India for you to Act in the Comission.
- [A. 4]. In the Negative.
- [Q. 5]. If at his return from Bangal to Batavia he shewed you the Owners Orders which he received the first time in Bangal in which is an Order for the ship to goe from Batavia (when there the 2d time) to Persia.
- [A. 5]. In the Negative. Though if my memmory faile not that Order was on Condition of our having 3000£ Stock, and wee came far short of that Summ.
- [Q. 6]. If he Called any Consultation or made any manner of Proposals to you about going to Persia.
- [A. 6]. In the negative.
- [Q. 7]. If, when at Batavia the Second time, he called any Consultations or had under your hand and Mr. Griffins for the ships Stay at Batavia, or for the Proceeding in any of Projected Voyages.
- [A. 7]. In the Negative.
- [Q. 8]. If he could have had the Money for the first of the Bangal Voyage of Mr. Moore at any time.
- [A. 8]. I believe he might, had he made a Demand after the time expired per agreement³, but being design'd for Surratt⁴, thought more profitable to take Goods in payment proper For the Countrey.
- [Q. 9]. If he kept any regular Accounts of the Cargo by Wast book and Journall.
- [A. 9]. In the Negative.
- [Q. 10]. About Mr. Boon[s]⁵ Freight. If he Consulted with you or those in Comission in his Buying and selling about the Prizes [prices] and sorts, &ca.

¹ Probably Hermitage, the best known of the Cape wines which were then beginning to acquire a high reputation.

² This Question and Answer are scored through.

³ The 'agreement' referred to was the one drawn up at Batavia. See Paper 68.

⁴ There is nothing in the papers extant to show that a voyage to Surat was intended nor is there any mention of it in the letter containing instructions as to the voyage (Paper 49).

⁵ See *ante*, note 1 on p. 310.

- [A. 10]. In the Negative. I knew not the prizes 'till some time after made, and consequently was not present att the first agreement
- [Q. 11]. If you know of about 6 Pecool¹ of Cloves bought at Batavia in which Mr. Griffin gained considerably on the Weight, and if Capt Tolson made any proposall of his taking the Cloves of the Overweight to his own use for to Buy Provisions for his Table.
- [A. 11]. As to the Weightt, cannott swear too, but to the best of my Memmory I think it was, as Mr. Griffin told me, about 150 Cattee², though after that, more Specie was received on board—and in refference to the proposall I attest to itt.
- [Q. 12] About Chinaware: about 500 Dollars: about Beef at Batavia: Charged more than had.
- [A. 12]. [No answer.]
- [Q. 13]. If you know that their was a mistake in Mr. Moors account of 592 Dollers, and if Capt. Tolson wrote to Mr. Moore about it.
- [A. 13]. That one Article was charged twice in Mr. Moors Account I own, as being the person that writt the account, after a Coppy from Capt. Tolson—alsoe that Captain Tolson writt from Calcutta by Captain Hart³ to Mr. Moore concerning that matter.
- [Q. 14]. If he voluntarily paid 190 Rix Dollers for your account to Mr. Moore, and if Mr. Griffin offered Captain Tolson to pay that Money for your account⁴.
- [A. 14]. I own the payment of the 190 Rix Dollers and that Mr. Griffin propos'd paying the said Summ in Captain Tolson's hearing if desir'd.
- [Q. 15]. If he frequentlee Gamed at Dice, Cards and other Games in the Passage out, and at Batavia &ca Places in India and at the Cape homeward, and in France⁴.
- [A. 15]. Not very often att Calcutta because of Business enough to divert him otherwayes, but in Vacation time at Batavia as often as opportunity presented⁴.
- [Q. 16]. What quantity of Opium or other Goods he brought from Bangal to Batavia for his own account.
- [A. 16]. The Invoyce from Mr. Sheldon⁵ will make appear, though I was inform'd he had [3] Chests of Opium, which he sold to Mr. Moors.

¹ See *ante*, note 5 on p. 250.

² Cattee, *katt*, a Malay weight varying from one to two pounds avoirdupois.

³ Captain Samuel Hart, a free mariner who traded from Foit St George and Bengal to Batavia and the Malay Archipelago.

⁴ Query 14 and Query and Answer 15 are scored through.

⁵ See Paper 66.

- [Q. 17]. What Goods there was in the Ship (when taken) on Freight from Bangal
- [A. 17]. The 3 Bales Mullmulls [*malma*] belonging to Capt. Hazelwood and Capt. Hudson¹, besides Tokens².
- [Q. 18]. If there was Bills of Lading Signed for the Homeward Cargoe.
- [A. 18]. In the Negative.
- [Q. 19]. About how much Redwood in the Ship when Taken³.
- [A. 19]. [no answer given].
- [Q. 20]. About how much Saltpetre in the Ship when taken.
- [A. 20]. To the best of my Memmory 1300 Baggs and odd each containing [unfinished]
- [Q. 21]. If he could have had Turmerick in Bangal³.
- [A. 21]. I beleive not³.
- [Q. 22]. If there was a Weekly account of Expences signed by all in Comission, Or if ever any Account of Expences was so signed.
- [A. 22]. In the Negative. Yours, THOS. BOWREY.

Paper 96.

[Grist's Formal Reply to Bowrey's Queries
dated 26 May 1708.]

Sir, In Compliance with yours dated May 26 [*Paper 95*], I have refresh't my memmory as well as I can to Consist with Truth, in answer to the Queries contain'd in your Letter, though I could have Given you a far larger Satisfaction, had not my papers been taken and lost, itt being allways my Method to trust nothing of Importance to my memmory Solely, when I can Book itt att the same Time.

As to your first Querie referring to Gaming, my answer is that in the first part of the Voyage, itt was usuall for allmost all the officers in Gennerall (not excluding my Self) to Game, sometimes for Punch and sometimes for money, though not High, though in less then 6 weeks that Custom was in a manner broken, and no One any Considerable Looser or Gainer, but before which Time I heard Captain Tolson saying that he was the Greatest Looser and that there was (to the best of my Memmory) 35 *li.* in a Bagg he was used to take money out and putt in as he won or lost, and

¹ See note 4 on p. 311.

² Small parcels containing presents, which were sometimes passed duty free by the Company. Sir William Foster tells me that the term was generally employed in this sense in the seventeenth century, but its use as late as 1708 is uncommon.

³ Query 19 and Query and Answer 21 are scored through.

that he had not then above £25 or £26 in itt. That this, in effect, was what I heard him say I can attest too.

As to your 2d [query], relating to the Strong Bears. The first evening the ship arriv'd at Padang, the Captain told me in the Governours House that he would take for his account the produce of the Tunn of strong Bear allowed for the Table, in consideration of a Bottle of Cape Wine drank each day in our Passage from the Cape to the West Coast, 2 hogshead of which being sold upon the West Coast and One in the Straits of Cynde [Sunda], the whole Amount being about 180 Rix Dollers, and no Credit, as ever I could Find, being Given to the Ships Stock for the Same. Tis easy to make the Inference. But I cannot say soe much as to the part about taking the produce thereof out of the Gould on board, because had we wanted att Padang tenn thousand Dollers in value of Gould, wee had been easily supply'd, and I don't know of 10 Dollers being brought away from that place. Soe that if Captain Tolson would doe you the Injury to place that Beer to his account because itt sold for the greater price, consequently he would invest that money in Gold att Padang And if my Memmory failes not, there was not invested in the whole in Gould 580 Rix Dollers, the Goods sold before att Bencolen being paid for in Cloves, and those that sold att Bantall being per agreement to be paid For att our Returne from Padang.

As to the proffitt on Gould from Padang to Batavia. If his Letters own 20 per Cent. advance, I Beleive he does you Justice as to that point, for I never could Hear itt would Turn to a Better account, and soe far I beleive itt to be the best Bargaine he made in the Voyage.

As to your Orders concerning my acting in the Commission¹, till arrived in England was Ignorant off, though I must own in the former part of the Voyage I had his Leave to look into the papers relating to the voyage, though I could Gather from them no Regular Account of Transactions. And had we safe come home, No less then a Conjurer could have made a fair Ballance from his papers. I alsoe saw some Letters from you wherein it was forbid to make me Sensible of Onc Article of Importance², but that, and all the rest, I was well acquainted with long ere your's received.

And as to your orders concerning our going for Persia from Batavia, when there the second time. I own I saw that Letter³ sometime after by a Mischance, and conceal'd itt with some other

¹ See Papers 48 and 49.

² See Papers 45 and 47.

³ See Paper 49. If Grist saw this letter as he avers, he must also have seen the order to include him in the commission, which was contained in it.

papers 'till our last Missfortune. However, I am well assur'd your orders as to that pointe were not absolute, but upon provisoes, and att that Juncture our Stock was vastly short of £3000 Sterling. Neither were wee ever possest of soe much Cash att a time while we were in India, as the Calcutta Account will make appear.

As to any proposalls about Going to Persia or Consultations call'd in order theretoo, I know nothing of itt.

As to our Stay att Batavia, I sign'd to no such papeer as contain'd any motion of that matter made by Captain Tolson, though this I must own, that when the Surratt Voyage was resolv'd upon¹, I was made Sensible, and Griffin alsoe, of his agrement with Mr. Moors as to the Prizes of Merchandize he was to receive from him in payment of Cash Due from him I also knew that Mr. Moors agrement being verball, was not punctually perform'd, He urging an Impossibility of sending more Sugar on board, without Evident Ruin, there being soe strick a Watch kept by the Dutch to prevent any matter of that Nature².

This Heighth'd former Animosistys, which occasion'd bad Language and Threats on Captain Tolsons part, for which other Europe Ships may chance to Suffer.

I never knew the Captain made a Demand for his whole Freight, and beleive might have had itt att two dayes warning, after a month's Expiration, as was one Article in the Contract, had he required it. I went once indeed for 200 Rix Dollers to him, being sent by Captain Tolson. His answer was, to come in the Afternoon and he would pay itt.

I know of no Regular accounts of Buying and Selling kept by Journall or Ledger. Here and there was to be found a paper mentioning some Bargains, though no wayes coppied in a per-ticular Wastbook³. As to discovering the matters of Cheifest Importance in buying and Selling any part of the Cargo, Recourse must be had to the Invoyses made att severall Places. And as to Disbursments in Calcutta, Recourse [must be had] to the Book Coppied great part by me from his Banyan⁴. [Unsigned]⁵.

¹ See note 4 on p. 328.

² See Paper 72 for Tolson's confirmation of this statement.

³ See Paper 87 for "Wastbook" or day-book. If no "Wastbook" had been kept, it would have been impossible to have kept either journal or ledger, since the entries from the "Wastbook" were first copied systematically into the journal and then subsequently correctly posted in the ledger:

⁴ *Banyā*, properly a Hindu trader, but used by the early Europeans to designate their native agents. Grist means to say that he had kept a book of the accounts prepared from those of the ship's native agent at Calcutta.

⁵ Although the document is unsigned and undated, there is no doubt of its authorship. It is clearly in the same hand as the Answers in Paper 95, namely that of Grist.

Paper 97.

[John Elliott's Support of Grist's Statement.]

London, Joune 27, 1708.

Captain Bowry: Sir, All that I can tell about the five Hundred Dollers¹ is this, that Mr. Grifen and Mr. Grist told me, after we com from Batvie to Padange² that Captain Tolson wold a-have Sheard five hundred Dollers amongstt them, but Grifen wold nott he[a]r of itt, Saying if Ever he cheted, it should be of Sume Greatt Veloue, which is all from Sir, your Hombel Servent,
JOHN ELIOT.

[Addressed]: Captain Thomas Bowry, thes[e].

[Endorsed]: Mr. Elliot about the 500 Dollers

Paper 98.

[Grist's Request to Bowrey to Recover his Claims for him.]

August 9th 1708

Sir, I received your Note³, but withall desire you to consider the Debts due from the Ships Company to me. As your Business could not be well perform'd by severall on board the Ship without my assisting them with Cloaths, &c. (which was by the Captains Order), 'tis very hard if I must have no allowance for soe necessary supply

Your answer heretofore was, I must have my Recourse to Captain Tolson, who Gave me Order for Serving the men; but if he be put past a possibility of paying me, I know not to whom to apply besides your Self and the rest of the Owners.

What I have allready Given Oath too, I am, and ever shall be, ready to attest too, though upon my Death Bedd. But there can be no policy in Serving you farther to my Cost, which will follow if Captain Tolson recover no part of his wages. I desire, Sir, that Equity May have its Course. Then, I am well asshur'd, I shall be Consider'd.

I was cheifly accessary to saving the Ship once⁴ (which without vanity I may avouch), but never lent a helping hand to the loss of her. I am, Sir, Your humble Servant, ELIAS GRIST

[Addressed]: To Captain Thomas Bowrey, att his House in Marine Square, near Rattcliff Highway; Present.

¹ See *ante*, pp. 320, 327, for this transaction.

² As a matter of fact the *Mary Galley* went from Bencoolen to Padang and not from Batavia.

³ Not among the papers.

⁴ There is no evidence available to support this statement.

Tolson's Views and Actions

Armed with the information collected from Grist, Griffin, Elliott, Studds and the carpenter, Bowrey proceeded to make his own notes of the charges he intended to pursue against Tolson (Paper 99). These are unpleasant reading, as it does not reflect to the credit of Bowrey that he took serious notice of such petty, spiteful statements. It looks as if all parties were determined to fix blame on Tolson on any kind of pretext.

Tolson evidently knew all that was going on, for on 9 June he lets out his wrath upon Thomas Bowrey in the following letter:

Sir, My Resolt off the matter is that I have wronged you off nothing. I take God to my wittness. So that beffore I give one Farthing to pay those Fals Evidences their pay, you Shall have as much off [my] harte blood. So you may persue your mesures with what Riger you pleass. Your Servant, JOS: TOLSON.

On 15 June he addressed another letter to Bowrey as an old friend (Paper 100), which is pathetic in its appeal: "The difference that is betwixt us is a Secrett to my wiffe and I desire you would nott disclose itt." Nevertheless the penultimate paragraph contains a threat to divulge, if necessary, Bowrey's secret instructions sent to Tolson, on his departure from England: "Although I never intend to survive the di[s]covery off any Secretts Comitted to mee, I shall nott Faill to Leave that behind mee that shall." The appeal did not fall on deaf ears, for, as we have seen, in August 1708 Bowrey and the owners agreed to arbitrate as, indeed, Tolson had himself suggested that they should on 29 June (Paper 103).

Incidentally there is another document extant, dated 6 July 1708 (Paper 101), relating to a small charge made in Tolson's accounts while at the Cape of Good Hope for the board of "a passinger att my own table," which he advises Bowrey to pay to save much useless trouble, as it would "contain a Long and tedious consideration to an arbytrator." This is yet another instance of the rough time a captain of the days of Queen Anne had on shore with his owners after

an unsuccessful voyage. Even in my own time I have known the captain of a commercial steamer remark that a cyclone was worse on shore after the voyage than it had been at sea, owing to the enquiry that had to be faced over the damage to the ship and its contents, inevitable in a storm of that nature.

Paper 99.

[Bowrey's Notes of the Case against Tolson.]

Queries about J[oseph] T[olson].

Informers

Dupuys Letter, About 500 Dollers Demorage J T proposed to
Griffin, Grist share it between himsele, Griffin and Grist.

Letter

Ditto

About 592 Dollers left with Jans Moore by mistake in account made up by Mr. Grist with him and Charged about which J T wrote to him¹.

About 50 Dollers gave the Shabander [*shah-bandar*, harbour master] and Mr. Moore paid the other 50 Dollers. J. T. Charged 100 Dollers to the Ships account; and Query: a false Charge at Gravesend².

Griffin

About his Trading, in breach of Orders. Query, Mr. Sheldons Invoice [Paper 66]. Mr. Griffin says all in said Invoice he (J T) declared to be his own. Only the salt &ca. small things were charged to the ships account and Mr. Griffin had a part of the Sanoos [*sanu*, cloths]. And as further Proof thereof he did not pay the Money in Bangal borrowed of J. Moore to be paid there on the ships account.

Ditto

About Arrack carried from Batavia on his own account in breach of Orders. Query, how much?

Terfoots³

Letter read and Query. What private orders?

Griffin

About 200 Dollers of China ware from Batavia to Bangal, [which Tolson] said was his owne, but when broake said was the Owners.

Griffin

About a Gun received for a Present at Padang and given at Bancola [Bencoolen] and Charged 20 Dollers. Much more than worth.

¹ This charge is scored through.

² Bowrey is still harping on the old grievance of a sheep and veal "sett down as Beefe" about which he was so wrathful in October 1704 (Paper 40).

³ Samuel Foorfoot, Purfoot or Terfoot, one of the foremastmen taken prisoner when the *Mary Galley* was captured. His evidence is not forthcoming.

Informers

- Griffin About what Salvage had for the Brigantine¹: Chest Silver, 16 Slaves, 2 Escretores² &ca. delivered at Bancola.
- Ditto Had no design of coming home from Bangal. Offerd the Ship to Freight, on which Griffin &ca. murmur'd, and the Captain knew they would not lett the Money goe out of the ship till they were assur'd it was to purchase a homeward Cargoe
- Ditto Gaming at hazard 500 Dollers a night. Whose 200 Dollers Captain Hurdís & Clarke³ Playd [with] at the Cape homeward⁴ and lost?
- Griffin Of Capt. Rawlins⁵ at Bottomree £36, Mr. Tolson Griffin says was all on the Ships account. J T say[s] 100 and odd Dollers at 6s. and is part on the ship and part on his own account. Besides he had of Capt. Rawlins £20 which he is to pay.
- Griffin About Cloves, 6 Pecool bought at Batavia in which Mr. Griffin gained by the weight about 2 Pecools of which he acquainted J T., who orderd him to Weigh them nicely [accurately] againe, and telling him that he would take the overweight for to supply his Table.
- Griffin Sold 3 Hogsheads of the Ships Strong beer at Padang for his own account and took the value in gold there, on which was 13 per Cent gain to

¹ There is no record of this transaction. The term brigantine did not then describe any particular rig, but was commonly held to describe any "outlandish" craft, particularly if suspected of piratical associations. In 1660 the English navy contained one brigantine of 50 tons, stationed at Jamaica and probably a local capture. De Passebon's *Plan de Plusieurs Batiments de Mer* of about 1690 shows a "brigantin" propelled by two lateen sails as well as by oars, and apparently manned by Algerines. Falconer in 1769 gives "Brig or Brigantine, a merchant ship with two masts. This term is not usually confined to vessels of a particular construction, or which are masted and rigged in a method different from all others. It is variously applied, by the mariners of different European nations, to a peculiar sort of vessel of their own marine." As English rigs, the brig became standardised in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the brigantine in the second quarter of the nineteenth.

I am indebted for the above note to Mr Laird Clowes.

² Escrivoires, writing cases, a common object of trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

³ Captain Hurdís and Captain Jonathan Clarke were both in the East India Company's service, and it was with the *Loyall Cook*, commanded by the latter, that Tolson sailed in company on his homeward voyage from India.

⁴ This is another proof that the fleet touched at the Cape homeward bound.

⁵ See *ante*, note 1 on p. 311.

Informers

- Batavia, whereas part of the Cargoe sold there was returned in dollers on which was no gain
- Ditto Made presents of his own: Pipes, Pickles, Preserved Cloves, &ca., Charging them at Extravagant rates to the Owners account.
- Ditto Agreement at Bancola about the Goods at Padang to carry to Madrass on freight. J T was so drunk he did not know what agreement he made and so proceeded and took in the goods and stood to their Custody.
- Griffin At the Cape arrived the 25 March, departed the 20 April¹. Allowed 6[d.] Mutton per [lb.], Cost 2 Stivers² per [lb.]. Brought 8 sheep to Sca, out of which deduct for the Captains Table.
- Ditto Contract about sugar with Jans Moore was not signed He might have had all his money off Mr. Moore when he would, as is evident by his Intention to Banjar³, &ca.
Query. why J T should not pay the Demorage of 4 or 5 months and damage for not going to Persia as ordered⁴

Paper 100.

[Tolson's Appeal to Bowrey.]

June the 15th 1708.

Sir, The Severty off your persicution is such that I canott Aprihend your Intention to bee Less then that you Intend to drive mee off the Stage, off which my Sad circomstances off the Loss off my Limes [limbs]⁴ and all that I had in the world makes mee weary off; and you canott be more desireous off itt then I am Free to make you a Sacrifice off itt.

The great God be Judge off the Reason I have given you (For I know none) to proseed against mee in this Naturc. Your deserning eye is able to penetrate into the unjustness off those Fals accusations which the devill and malis hath Inventted against me, off which God alone can be Judge, Since I Finde nothing will Stick with them to make their Fals Storyes plausible, So that iff they can butt invent, they can affirm. So that I can nott pretend

¹ Here we learn the exact length of the stay of the *Mary Galley* at the Cape.

² See *ante*, note 3 on p 18 for the value of *stuivers*. Bowrey apparently suggests that Tolson charged 6d. a lb for mutton that cost him 2d.

³ Banjarmasin, on Borneo (see Paper 72).

⁴ This statement seems to refer only to Tolson's temporary loss of the use of his leg, for there is no indication that amputation was necessary.

to composse any matters till I know whatt they are, and as you told mee that their Memery might nott bee good att a time when they might make their affadavitt, So that I Finde iff they have nott Invented enough, they Intend to do itt.

I only desire you to Concider the Case and do by me as you would doe by your Selff, and you would Never incorage Such inselentt villines, which plainly doth apear [that] none in my Circumstance was Capable off keeping under Goverment without some Reger, For which their malis hath Invented those Storyes, Findeing you Redy to Incorage and give Ear to their ungratefull and Fals using me

My nott deserning your perfections early hath proved my utter Ruen, For I allwayes did Suppose Captain Bowryes vertues to have been Equelly composed with those pirfections off wisdom I Deserned in him, butt to my greatt disatisfsaction, I Finde these perfections may be Saperatte, and honour goes no Forther then Intrest can cary itt. So that my want of Fore Knowledge hath made my Liffe a pray to a mercyles Enemy, to whome, God is my Record, I have given no Just ocation, Neither Do I know when [? what] you can Expectt butt my Liffe, Except you would have me be your Slave, which I would willingly bee, iff you could turn my Skin From White to black, iff that would apeace you. But you canott Expectt that I can make any Such Sacryffice with my Known Vizogminy [physiognomy]; and according to whatt I can Fore See, you can have no other End then one off those, my misfortins haveing made my Condision Reather to be pityed than Envied, being Reduced to become a pencioner to the Charty off those which is pleased to admitt me to their table and to asist mee in the time off my Confinement, to whome I am ingaged even for the meett I eatt and the Cloths I ware, Even For more then I can tell which way to repay or am worth in the World.

So that my condision being Such, I hope to Lett you have your Endes Shortly, butt nott till I can Leave that behind me that shall make apear your Crawlty. And allthough I never intend to survive the di[s]covery off any Secretts Comitted to mee, I shall nott Fail to Leave that behind mee that shall¹.

Iff you please to answeere these, I desire you to send itt to the Jameco Coffy house or To the Union Coffy house², For the

¹ Tolson's threat is that he will disclose Bowrey's Secret Trade Orders given in 1704, for which see Paper 46.

² The Jamaica Coffee House in St Michael's Alley, opposite the African, is mentioned as late as 1748. See Mr J. Paul de Castro's "Principal London Coffee-Houses etc." in *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. VI, (1920), p. 85. For the Union Coffee-House see *ante*, n. 6 on p. 292.

difference that is betwixt us is a Secrett to my wiffe, and I desire you would nott disclose itt. Yours, JOS: TOLSON

[Addressed]: To Captain Bowry, Liveing in Mereen Square, Marchant, London.

Paper 101.

[Tolson to Bowrey regarding a Petty Claim for Board for a Passenger on the Homeward Voyage.]

July the 6. 1708.

Sir, I send you these, desiring your Answer, that I may make Demands as Easy and Reasonable and shorte as I can.

As concerning the note to Mr. Finch¹ att the Cap[e], I desire you to take a r[ight] consideration off the matter, wherin you See [that he] even made you criditure [creditor] For a passinger att my own table², which you know I can with Justice demand, and I cannott see any Reason itt can be Reffused, and Likewise Severall others off the men that Received money off me att the Cap[e], which will, I do nott Question, be allowed mee. But it will contain a Long and teedious Consideration to an arbytrator. So that iff you are willing to pay that note to Mr. Finch, I am willing to Lett all such teedyous demands pas by. And as I have made you criditor For all, I canott Forebare complaining when you Reffuse so small a matter.

So I desire you will Lett me know your Resoltt in the mater in a Line to me directed to Mr. Johnsons³. Your Servant, JOS. TOLSON

[Addressed]: To Captain Bowry, Liveing in Mareen Square, London

The Case of Wright *vs.* John Elliott

There appears to have been a case before Lord Chief Justice Holt on 19 June 1708, in which John Elliott, the doctor of the *Mary Galley* was defendant, and it seems to have had reference to diamonds and other jewels brought home in the *Mary Galley*, probably the very "Dimentts"

¹ William Finch witnessed the bond to Captain Rawlins (previously mentioned) on 31 March 1707, during the stay of the fleet at the Cape. He was probably an officer or passenger on one of the East India Company's ships, who advanced money to Tolson.

² This seems to refer to John Redshaw, whose homeward passage had been paid by Ralph Sheldon at Calcutta (see *ante*, Papers 91 and 93).

³ A lawyer and notary: Tolson's brother-in-law.

mentioned by Tolson in his letter of 15 May 1708 (Paper 78). In this case Tolson's conduct was evidently in question, and he seems to have given evidence, but I have failed to discover any detailed records of the proceedings. Bowrey was not present at the trial, but there are notes of it from information given him by someone else. According to these notes, the Judge made some reflections very disparaging to Tolson.

Information that Bowrey had been spreading the story contained in his notes evidently reached Tolson, and on 29 June 1708, he wrote strongly repudiating the correctness of the information on which they were based.

It was in this letter that Tolson made the important suggestion already alluded to, that as to the "other matters in queston" between him and Bowrey, "I am willing to Reffare itt to 2 Comanders off ships, you chuseing one and I another." He added that his brother-in-law, Mr Johnson, a lawyer and notary, "will waitt on you att chang [exchange] time and I shall nott be Fore [far] off." So that it would seem that arbitration was after all originally suggested by Tolson himself.

Paper 102.

[Bowrey's Notes on the Case of Wright *vs.* Elliott.]

Tryall of J. Elliot before Lord C[hief] Justice Holt¹
June 19th 1708.

Judge told J[oseph] T[olson] as *vizt*, or to this Effect:

That he bore down to the 2 French Men of Warr and gave the ship away.

That he shared the Diamonds² with Griffin before the ship taken.

That he was a speciall [exceptionally qualified] man to be trusted with a Ship.

¹ Sir John Holt (1642-1710), was Lord Chief Justice 1689-1710.

The trial is recorded in *Judgment Rolls* (Public Record Office, E 122/35, m. 371), but there is no mention of Joseph Tolson or any details regarding the *Mary Galley*. The rubies and diamonds with which the case was concerned were said to be worth £1000, and the trial took place 19 June 1708.

² See Paper 78 for Tolson's connection with this affair.

That he did not Answer to the Purpose, but with forreign [irrelevant] Stories.

That they, *i.e.*, all concernd in the Diamonds, were Rogues.

He [Tolson] offerd to shew his wound but was told there was no occasion, &ca.

The Court Laughed at his depositions, &ca. as Ridicilous.

Paper 103.

[Tolson to Bowrey on the Case of Wright *vs.* Elliott, and suggesting Arbitration as to the Other Matters between them.]

June 29: 1708.

Sir, I understand by Mr. Hamon [Hammond] that you have Reported that I was flouted outt off the court in the Late Triall betwixt Mr. Wrightt and John Eliott. And as I doe beleive you are Imposed upon by mallishous persones Infformation, I hope, as itt is a thing that has to bee proved, that you will doe mee the Justice as to make a due Inquirey into the matter and give a just Reporte thereof to those whome you have, in my opinion, undiscreeetly made bold to Scandlies mee with.

In this I hope you will nott Fail, since it is a thing that Honour and Justice bindes every body to that is misled by Fals infformation. As For severall other Lies that you have been infformed in, I blame the a[u]theres and nott you. Butt, this being a thing that is very easy to be proved, I think you doe mee unjustice iff you doe nott make mee Reparation in itt.

I canott even my selff with saffty to come and speek with you, understanding that their is an action out against me by Capt. Bapty For his 2 servants wages¹, and I am unwilling to lie in a prison and doth nott Know where to gitt bail. So I desire that you will speek to him and see whatt may be done in the matter withoutt Rigor.

For the other matters in queston, I am willing to Reffare itt to 2 Comanders off ships, you chuseing one and I another, iff you will give me your promise that att our meeting you will nott indiver me beeing arested. Butt things may, with the best off our Indivers, be accomodated For the benefitt off my Selffe, you, and the rest of the owners, which will perhapes nott Fall out so,

¹ From Paper 109 we learn that the "2 servants" of Captain Patrick Bapty or Bapti were Martin Sheills (Sheilds) and George Nairne, probably apprentices who were lent to the *Mary Galley* for the voyage to India.

iff Rigerous meenes be used and things put out off the Chanell they aught to run in.

So I desire you will come with my brother[-in-law] Johnson to mee, that wee may consult who to leive the matter to; and iff you are nott inclined to leive itt to arbytration, that wee may consult other meens to bring itt to a speedy triall, which will be the Costlyest way off arbytration, and I beleive nott to our advantage.

I do nott obscond¹ For any thing thatt you have to say against mee, but will apear att your somence [summons] att any time.
Your servant, JOS: TOLSON

P.S. Mr. Johnson will waitt on you att chang [exchange] time and I shall nott be Fore [far] off.

[Addressed]: To Capt. Bowry.

¹ Tolson seems to mean "I have no need to hide myself."

CHAPTER VII

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RELATING TO THE HOMEWARD VOYAGE OF THE *MARY GALLEY*

BALANCE SHEET AND INVOICE

THERE are three papers of accounts preserved regarding the voyage of the *Mary Galley* to the East, in addition to those already printed in Chapter III. The first (Paper 104) is an anonymous and undated document, probably drawn up by Tolson, either while a prisoner in Dunkirk, or soon after his return to England, to be put before the arbitrators. It is by way of being a balance sheet of the *Mary Galley* at Batavia in 1706, her voyage to Madras and Calcutta thereafter, and her voyage home. It has one item in it which can be checked by reference to the second paper, an "Invoice of Goods bought per Mr. Russell at Calcutta in Bangall and put on board the *Mary Galley* with their Cost and Charges" (Paper 105). The item in question is "By the Cost of the Homeward Cargo [Rupees] 23,567." The total of Russell's Invoice is also Rupees 23,567. So it is quite clear whence the item in the Balance Sheet came, and its existence goes to prove the honesty of that sheet, whoever drew it up, though it does not altogether balance quite correctly.

Honesty can hardly, however, be attributed to the third paper preserved, which is signed by Joseph Dupuy and dated 27 September 1707 N.S. (Paper 106), and must therefore have been drawn up in Dunkirk while he was a prisoner there, after the capture of the *Mary Galley*. It is a very detailed document and bears the impress of having been prepared from notes taken on the spot, which must have somehow been preserved, despite the disaster to the ship. On comparing it with Russell's Invoice, the first items are found to agree to a certain extent, and both documents deal with the same transactions. But there is a significant difference between them. Russell says as to "Doreas," or cotton goods

that the value of those placed on board was Rs. 3710. 6. 0., less "Short Measure," Rs. 52. 6. 9 = Rs. 3657. 15. 3. Dupuy, however, gives for the "Doreas" exactly the same items, but leaves out the "Short Measure" and places the value at £3710. 6s. 0d. This looks wrong, but the same thing happens to the next item of cotton piece-goods, "Mallmulls," which Russell values at Rs. 1965, less "Short Measure," Rs. 36. 2. 0., and "Dustore," or commission, Rs. 87. 4. 9. Dupuy again gives the same account, but leaves out the last two points and puts the total at Rs. 1965. The same thing also occurs with the two items, "Tincall" and "Shellack," where again the "Dustore" inserted by Russell is left out by Dupuy. In these last two cases Dupuy omits charges which Russell adds for packing, amounting to Rs. 112. 0. 6. Dupuy's omissions therefore cannot be accidental and they impugn the veracity of his account.

After this point, the two accounts, Russell's and Dupuy's, vary altogether, but Russell's gross total comes, as already stated, to Rs. 23,567. 5. 3 and Dupuy's to Rs. 24,557. 9. 0. It is to be observed also that in the Balance Sheet, on the other side of the account, there is an item of Rs. 24,214 for produce of goods brought from Batavia. It seems pretty clear then that Dupuy's account was concocted at Dunkirk to fit his recollection of an invoice of about Rs. 24,000, and that his statements are worthless.

Russell also sent an account with Tolson to Bowrey (Paper 107), which no doubt reached the latter by some ship other than the *Mary Galley*. Here again we see his invoice of Rs. 23,567. 5. 3 quoted. That Bowrey was not happy about the three papers considered above, when he received them, is proved by brief notes in his hand regarding proposed interviews with Tolson, Griffin and Grist on points in the accounts. He was going to see Tolson separately from the others, and it is the last item in his notes that is to the point here: "read account to them and query the articles [and] the value [of them]." The queries that he proposed to put to Tolson separately were as to his "Journall," as to what "Papers saved" he could produce, and "about £500 In-

sured." Bowrey evidently wanted to try to get at the truth of the statements, if possible, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries an Indian merchant's difficulties in ascertaining the real facts concerning his ventures were undoubtedly very great.

Paper 104.

[Balance Sheet of the *Mary Galley* while at Batavia in 1706, her Voyage to Madras and Calcutta thereafter and her Voyage home.]

Dr.	Rix Dollers	Cr.	
To Freight & Demorage received of Janse Moore	16000	By Cash paid to Mr Moore for Borrowed of him on the first Voyage to Bangal	592
To Goods of the Owners left in his ¹ hands the first time at Batavia	400	By the Ships Expencc at Batavia the 2d time .	600
		By Cash paid for Mr Dupuy and Mr. Grist . .	779
		By an Error in account .	592
		By Goods bought at Batavia the 2d time [and] .	
		By Gold bought at Ditto	13837
	<hr/> 16400		<hr/> 16400
	Rupees		
To the Produce of Goods brought from Batavia with the Batta ² and Profit on the Goods at 1 $\frac{1}{4}$. .	24214	By Expences at Bancola and Padang . . .	100
To the Produce of Gold bought at Batavia . .		By Expence at Fort St. George ³ . . .	350
		By Expence at Bangal .	2000
To Salvage received at Bancola 150 Dollers is . .	300	By the Cost of the Homeward Cargo . . .	23567
To Freight received at Fort St. George 350 Pagodas is	1323		
To Profit on Lead from Fort St. George to Bangal ³ .	500		
	<hr/> 26337		<hr/> 26017

¹ That is, J. Moor's hands.

² Batta, difference in exchange, discount on coins not current or of short weight.

³ These two items show that during the time that Tolson stayed at Madras on his way from Batavia in the autumn of 1706, he did a certain amount of trading before he went thence to Bengal.

Paper 105.

[John Russell's Invoice from Calcutta.]

1706/7 Invoice of Goods bought per Mr. Russell at Calcutta in
Bangall and put on board the *Mary Galley* with their
Cost and Charges—

	Rup	A. p.	
Doreas ¹ 40 Cobits ² Long 2½ broad ³	3710	6 -	
Short Measure	52	6 9	3657 15 3
Mallmulls ⁴ 40 Cobitts Long and 2 Cobitts broad ³	1965	- -	
Short Measure	36	2 -	1928 14 -
			5586 13 3
To Dustore ⁵ on the Doreas & Mullmulls			87 4 9
Whole Cost			5499 8 6
Tincall ⁶ <i>Vist.</i>			
19 Duppers ⁷ qt. [containing] Factory weight [illegible]	391	14 -	
Dustore	6	2 -	
	385	12 -	
Charges for Oyle and Packing	13	5 -	399 1 -
Shellack			
41 Chests qt. 196. 14. 5 at 7. 8 per md.	1423	10 -	
Dustore	23	3 9	
	1401	6 9	
Charges	98	11 6	1500 1 9
Salt Peter <i>Vist.</i>			
100 Baggs qt. 2000 Maunds at 5. 12 per md.	11500	- -	
300 Do. qt. 600 Do. at Do.	3300	- -	
	14800	- -	
To Gunney ⁸ Baggs for ditto	100	- -	
To the Banyan [native merchant] for Weighing	5	- -	14905 - -
Red Lack ⁹ 20 Maunds at R. per md.			104 13 -
To Charges of Merchandize			36 9 -
			22445 1 5
To Commision at 5 Per Cent			1122 4 -
	Rupees		23567 5 3

¹ *Doriyā*, striped muslin. ² Coved, covit (Port. *covado*), a cubit or ell.

³ Details not printed: same as those in Dupuy's invoice, *post*, Paper 106.

⁴ *Malmal*, muslin. ⁵ *Dastūr*, commission.

⁶ Tincall (Pers. *tinkāl*), borax. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce* (1813), II, 207, applies the term to rough borax only, and says it should be chosen in clean, bright "solid pieces, resembling sugar candy."

⁷ See note 2 on p. 26. ⁸ See note 5 on p. 264.

⁹ Lac (Hind. *lākh*), a resinous incrustation produced on certain trees. The term was also used for a variety of substances giving a red dye. Milburn, *op. cit.* II, 16, says: "The best lac is of a reddish purple colour." See also Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Lac.

Paper 106.

[Dupuy's Invoice from Dunkirk.]

Invoice of the Cargo of the Ship *Mary Gallys* Loading in Sundry Ports, Marked and Numberd as per Margent¹, *Vizt.*

Bangall

Doreas 40 Covits long 2½ broad *vizt.*

			Rups.	As	Rups	As
1 Bale containing	85 peeses	at 6 6 is	711	14		
1 Do.	106	at 7 10 ...	808	4		
2 Do.	160	at 6 14 ..	1100	-		
2 Do.	178	at 6 2 ...	1090	4	Rups	As
					3710	6
529 ps.						

Mulumls 40 Covits long 2 broad

1 Bale containing	119 ps.	at 7 8	892	8		
1 Do.	156	at 6 14	1072	8	1965	-
275 ps.						

Tincal

15 Duppens containing

30 Maund at 13 1 391 14

Shellack²

Maunds Seer

41 Chests Do. 196 14 at 7 8 1423 10

Saltpetre

Maunds

1000 baggs Do. 2000 at 5 12 11500
 329 Do... Do. 658 at 5 12 3783 8 15283 8

Seed Lack³

Mds. Seer

28 38½ at 5 - 104 13

Batavia

Pepper

17 Pecool at 11 6 193 6

Cassia Lignum⁴

15 Pecool at 9 - 135 -

¹ The marks and numbers have been omitted.² See note 9, p. 346 Shell-lac is the term applied to thin, transparent sheets of gum lac formed of the melted clarified substance, after the extraction of the dye.³ Seed-lac is lac that has been separated from twigs and boiled in water, while lac in its crude state is called stick-lac. See Milburn's article on Lac, *Or Commerce* (1813), II, 216-17.⁴ See note 1 on p. 312.

Redwood ¹	Madrass		
150 Candy ²	at 9 -	1350 -	
		<u>24557</u>	<u>9</u>

Errors Excepted: Dunkirk the 27th Sept. N S. 1707. JOSEPH DUPUY

Paper 107.

[John Russell's³ Account with Capt. Tolson.]

Dr Captn. Joseph Tolson	from Mr. Russell	Cr	R	A.P.
To Cash paid <i>vizt.</i>	1337 4 -	By Cash received in		
		Mixt rupees ⁴	5600	- -
To Secretaries fees for		By Batte [batta] at 6 &		
3 Distucks ⁵	3 - -	$\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent	364	- -
To Amount of Invoice	23567 5 3	By Cash received in		
		Madrass rupees	9797	5 -
To Ballance	210 13 9	By Batte at 9 Per Cent	881	12 3
		By 80 Gould Moors		
		[gold mohars] at 13 $\frac{1}{2}$		
		rups per ps	1080	- -
		By Mr. Shaws ⁶ bill	3804	15 3
		By Cooper [copper]		
		138 Maonds 4 sr ⁷		
		at 26 rupees per mn.	3590	9 6
Rupees.	<u>25118 10 -</u>	Rupees...	<u>25118 10 -</u>	
Ballance received in				
money as above	1548 2 -			
China Ware about	700 - -			
freight of 3 Bailes	200 - -			
Red wood 600 Mnd. at				
12 a per mn.	450 - -			
Pepper 4 Maunds				
About	50 - -			
Rupees.	<u>2948 2 -</u>			

[Endorsed]: Mr. Russells Account &ca.

¹ See note 2 on p. 312.

² Candy, Mal *kandi*, a weight used in S. India, of about 500 lb.

³ John Russell was Book-keeper at Calcutta at the time of Tolson's stay there. In 1711 he was made Governor of Fort William. He resigned his post in December 1713 (see Wilson, *Early Annals of Bengal*, II, Part I, pp. 332-3).

⁴ By "Mixt rupees" is meant rupees of varying value, e.g. Sicca, Bombay, Surat, Madras, etc.

⁵ "Distuck," dustuck, Pers. *dastak*, a pass or permit.

⁶ See note 3 on p. 314.

⁷ This is reckoning the maund (*man*) at 40 seer or about 82 lb. avoirdupois.

The Further Insurance of the *Mary Galley*

By 1707 Bowrey began to get anxious about the insurance of the *Mary Galley*, as she was staying in the East a year longer than the time covered by the old insurances (Papers 36 to 39). He therefore wrote to A. B. Henriques, his correspondent in Amsterdam, who replied, 24 May 1707, that the delay would not prejudice the owners. On 17 June he informed Bowrey that he had effected a further insurance on the ship at 10 per cent., which, with charges, amounted to £53. 3s. 10d.

On 16 September Henriques reported the arrival of several Dutch ships of the homeward bound fleet and of two English ships. He added that he had heard rumours of an English ship, "some says called the *Mary Gally*," being carried off to Dunkirk. The two English ships were the *Frederick* and *Loyall Cook* (see Chapter v, p. 292) and the rumour regarding the *Mary Galley* was unfortunately correct.

From 26 September to 18 November the correspondence between Bowrey and Henriques relates to the procuring of affidavits and arranging about the insurance. By 22 June 1708, Bowrey must have complained of the delay in settlement, for Henriques writes that no one could have transacted the business better than he had done, and he adds that his broker was an exceptionally honest man. On 21 August he reported that several difficulties had arisen and that he thought of taking legal advice and proceeding against one of the policy holders. There the correspondence ends, and at first sight it would appear that Bowrey failed to receive the insurance money from the Dutch underwriters, despite all his carefulness and the fact that the second insurance was effected just two months before the capture of the ship. But the situation could not have been quite so bad as that, for in an account of the "Voiage to East India per *Mary Gally*" in Bowrey's private account book we find that Henriques remitted £640 from Amsterdam for insurance, from four of his clients as underwriters, on 27 November 1707. From the

correspondence above noted this can only have been a part payment, and there is nothing in Bowrey's extant accounts to show that he ever received the balance due in 1708, if there really was any.

I have not printed the correspondence in full, thinking it sufficient to give a summary of each paper.

Paper 108.

A Summary of the Papers regarding the further Insurance of the *Mary Galley*.

24 May 1707 Abraham Bueno Henriques writes to Thomas Bowrey, apparently in answer to an enquiry about extending the insurance of the *Mary Galley*, since she was staying abroad a year longer than expected. He replied that the delay need be no prejudice to the owners and that if the ship comes from the Cape with the Dutch fleet the insurance may be effected at 11 or 12 per cent.

17 June 1707. A. B. Henriques writes to Thomas Bowrey that he had effected the insurance of the *Mary Galley* from the Cape to some port of Holland at 10 per cent. divided between three merchants in two sums of 2000 florins, and one of 1250 fl. If she should not come with the Dutch ships, the premium to be returned with an allowance of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The policy of fl. 2100 made in 1706¹ provides for the ship going to London direct and an alteration must be made. Also the value of the ship will have deteriorated and an alteration must again be made in the policy.

Two more letters follow and a bill of costs for the insurance of the ship.

16 Sept. 1707. A. B. Henriquez writes to Thomas Bowrey that he has news of the arrival of several Dutch ships and two English ships² from India. He has also heard that an English ship was carried to Dunkirk "some says called the *Mary Gally*³, if soe shall bee sorry, but must have pasience, as noe certaine news of anything."

26 Sept. 1707. A. B. Henriques to Thomas Bowrey. The affidavits are in his hands and as soon as he has the necessary papers he will "put in order the agreement of the Police [Policy]," but can do nothing till he has these "writings."

17 Oct. 1707. Ditto to Ditto. When he has all the papers together he will procure payment of the insurance. The policy holders are able to pay "and shall pay."

¹ See Paper 37.

² The *Frederick* and the *Loyall Cook*, Tolson's English consorts. See p. 292, n. 8.

³ See Remarks on this report, Chapter v, p. 285.

- 4 Nov. 1707. Ditto to Ditto. He has received an affidavit from Capt. Tolson¹ and is getting it translated so as to have all papers ready
- 11 Nov. 1707. Ditto to Ditto. He has agreed with some of the underwriters to pay 97 per cent. of the insurance, and hopes to do the same with the others. He regrets that Capt. Tolson has delayed getting his affidavit attested, for the exchange is now favourable.
- 18 Nov. 1707. Ditto to Ditto. He has not yet received payment of all, but is promised payment next week.
- 22 June 1708. Ditto to Ditto. No one could have transacted the business better or more carefully than he has done, especially as his broker is exceptionally honest, but he must have such papers "as Inclosed notice demands." Then there will be nothing to do but meet the "ashoorer."
- 31 July 1708. Ditto to Ditto. He has received certificates and has handed them over to his broker and hopes they will be sufficient.
- 21 August 1708. Ditto to Ditto. Several difficulties regarding the insurance have arisen and he has had to take legal advice. If possible, he will proceed against one of the policy-holders.

¹ This may be the affidavit to which Tolson refers in his letters of 13 October and 15 November 1707 (Papers 76 and 77).

CHAPTER VIII

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE *MARY GALLEY*

A SUMMARY OF THE ACCOUNTS IN SETTLEMENT

THROUGHOUT the life of the *Mary Galley*, Bowrey was the person principally responsible for her affairs, and after her capture, his notes and correspondence show that he continued to hold himself responsible for the settlement of her accounts. From these notes and this correspondence, so far as they have been preserved, it is pretty clear that by January 1710, the latest date found in them, Bowrey had paid and settled everything possible in full, six years after the idea of the *Mary Galley* had been conceived.

His summarised account of the "Voiage to East India per *Mary Gally*" from October 1704 to November 1709 (Paper 109), shows that he settled personally, or through others, with all the crew or their representatives. It is possible, however, that later some small claims may have arisen, as even after the accounts were totalled, there occurs a further small item of receipt.

Paper 109.

[Summary of Accounts in Settlement of the Affairs of
the Loss of the *Mary Galley*.]

Voiage to East India per *Mary Gally*.....Dr

		£	s.	d.
1704				
Oct. 12th	To Cash borrowed of Mr. Edwards at Bottomree ¹	500	-	-
1705				
July 24	To Cash borrowed of Mr. Phineas Bowles ² at Do.	75	-	-

¹ See Paper 3.

² Phineas Bowles was victualling agent to the Royal Navy and to the East India Company. For a previous reference to the bond, a copy of which has not survived, see p. 141. There is an entry in Bowrey's private account book, f. 9, showing that he repaid the amount borrowed, but the date is not given.

1704-9] SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS 353

		£	s	d.
1706				
May 15	To Cash Disbursed to this day for Account said Ship and Cargo for Account, my $\frac{1}{2}$ part thereof made up with the above sums	14	10	9
	my Half part .	£19	85	18 9
1704				
Oct. 16	To Cash Lent Capt. Joseph Tolson at Bottomree on the said ship .	50	-	-
	To paid Mr. Glover and Gregory for In- suring £1250 at 16 [per cent] ¹ .	2	15	1 6
1706				
Mar. 29	To paid for Insurance made at Amsterdam by Mr. Abraham Bueno Henriques Guilders 2100 at 20 per Cent ² .	4	1	10 -
Augt. 5	To paid Mr. Martins for a Bill from Mr. A. Bueno Henriques for Insurance ² .	45	2	10
1707/8				
Jan. 22	To paid Mr. Richard Griffin on account my part of his Wages .	10	-	-
Mar. 13	To Ditto account Ditto .	10	-	-
16	To paid Jarrat Cuthbeartson account Ditto	10	-	-
24	To paid John Elliot account Ditto .	5	-	-
1708				
April 26	To paid Mr. Richard Griffin for my part of Wages due to him and is in full .	37	-	-
27	To paid John Elliot account Ditto in full .	27	10	-
	To paid Mr. Elias Grist in full for Ditto .	35	-	-
30	To paid Jarrat Cuthbeartson account Ditto in full .	37	10	-
May 13	To paid Ann Sharpe for Daniel Bowden ³ account Ditto in full .	6	-	-
	To paid Sarah Terfoot for Samuel Terfoot ⁴ account Ditto in full .	14	6	3
15	To paid George Dungey ⁵ account Ditto in full .	8	10	-
	To Judge Dee ⁶ for advice .	10	9	
July 3	To John Mitchell ⁷ in full .	18	18	1

¹ See Paper 37.

² See Paper 39.

³ Daniel Bowden was shipped as "Boy" in 1704. See Paper 23.

⁴ The name of Samuel Terfoot, foremastman, is variously spelt (see Paper 23, note-1).

⁵ For the "Clearance" of George Dungey, second mate, in May 1705, see Paper 62.

⁶ See Paper 85.

⁷ John Mitchell, foremastman, and later, boatswain (see Papers 23, 59, 72, 80).

354	SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS		[1704-9
July 6	To Martin Sheills and George Nairne bought their whole Wages of their Master Captn. Patrick Bapti ¹	£ s d.	42 12 6
16	To John Chapell for Francis Trimmer ² in full		7 11 6
Augt. 20	To Captn. Tolson in full of all Accounts .		92 8 9
27	To Mr. Thorisby in full for the Wages of Mordecai Eve, William Heighington and S. Wilkinson ³		5 - -
19	To Mr. Tushingham for two Awards with Captn. Tolson ⁴		2 3 -
	To Capt. Tolson for his Affidavit from France to prove the Loss ⁵		1 13 -
Sept. 10	To Frances Panter for John Panter ⁶ in full		13 17 1
Oct. 11	To Capt. Tolson for my part and also for my share of Mr. Dupuys and Grists part of £67. 2. 0. to Benoni Hancock ⁷ for Wages		38 6 10
15	To Mr. Turner, Scrivener for Writeings account the Arbitration with C. Tolson .		1 16 6
1709			
Augt. 3	To Mr. Josiah Greene in full for my part of Wages to Archibald Wightman ⁸		15 13 7
			<hr/> 2779 - 11
1706	Per Contra.....Cr.	£ s. d.	
	At Bottomree		500 - -
June 13th	By Cash received of Mr. Thomas Humfrys to reinsure £100 Composit[ion]		75 - -
	at 6s. per £ on £20 ⁹		6 - -

¹ See Paper 103.

² Francis Trimmer, carpenter's mate, died in Batavia in August 1705 (see Paper 23).

³ The first two were taken prisoner when the ship was captured. Wilkinson had been discharged in Bengal (see Paper 24).

⁴ This refers to the Arbitrations of Mr Dolliffe and Captain Clarke (Papers 86 and 89).

⁵ See Tolson's letters of 13 October and 15 November 1707 (Papers 76 and 77).

⁶ Frances Panter (or Painter) was probably the widow or mother of John Painter, cooper and steward, who died at Batavia in August 1706 (see Papers 23 and 93).

⁷ Midshipman, and later, second mate (see Papers 23 and 59).

⁸ Archibald Whitman or Wightman had died 14 April 1706 (see Paper 23).

⁹ This entry seems to refer to a second insurance, at 30 per cent., effected in England at the same time as the one carried out by Henriques in Amsterdam (see Papers 38 and 39). Thomas Humfrys had effected an insurance on the *Rising Sun* for Bowrey in 1705.

1704-9] SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS 355

1705		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31	By received in Account for my trouble &ca. as by Agreement at five Guineas per Cent	203	3	5
1707				
	By received in Account for 2 months Wages for Thomas Studds	6	-	-
Oct. 15	By Cash received of Mr. J. Gregory for P. Priaulx ¹ £84 at 3d per <i>h.</i>	12	8	-
Nov. 10	By Ditto received of Ditto for Mr. Leigh ² £50 less	41	16	-
27	By Ditto remitted from Mr. Abraham Bueno Henriques for Insurance received at Amsterdam by bill on Peter Hollander	200	-	-
28	By Ditto by Bill on Samuel Remington	100	-	-
Dec. 6	By Ditto by Bill on Abraham Henkell	120	-	-
20	By Ditto by Bill on Daniel Hays ³	220	-	-
1708				
June 4	By Ditto of Mr. Griffin overpaid him	1	2	6
	Ditto of John Elliott	13	9	

Of the ships Crew Poundage for getting in
&ca. the other Owners Money.

R. Griffin	9	4
D. Bowden	1	-
R. Griffin	4	7
S. Terfoot	3	6
G. Dungey	2	-
J. Elliot	2	6
M. Sheills & G. Nairne	2	6
J. Mitchell	4	9
E. Grist	5	8
J. Elliot	5	3
F. Trimmer.	2	-
Jarrat Cuthbeardson	4	-
	4	3 1
	8	10 2
	8	10 2

Augt. 27	By Received of Capt. Tolson for his own and his part of Mr. Dupuys and Grists Share of Wages to M. Eve, Wm. Heigh- ington and S. Wilkinson	19	½
----------	---	----	---

¹ I have found no other reference to this individual.

² I have found no trace of this individual for whom Messrs Gregory and Glover seem to have been agents.

³ These four men were underwriters of the insurance effected by Henriques in Amsterdam in 1707 (see Paper 108).

356	SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS	[1704-9
[1708]		£ s. d.
	By received in Account of Mr. Jackson for	
	Ditto	9 6
	..... of Ditto for Mar: Sheills	
	and George Nearne	4 1 2
	By received in Account for Mr. Richard	
	Tolson for Ditto	4 9
Oct. 2	By received of Mr. Thomas Hammond for	
	his owne and his part of Mr. Dupuys and	
	Grists share of £42. 12. 6. paid Martin	
	Sheills and George Nearne their Wages	4 1 2½
	By received of Ditto for his part of £5 paid	
	Mordecai Eve, Wm. Heighington and	
	Sam. Wilkinson and also his part of Mr.	
	Grists Share of the said £5 for Wages .	8 8½
	By received of Ditto for his part of £3. 18. -.	
	for the Arbitration with Captn. Tolson	
	and also for his [part] of Mr. Grist's Share	
	of the same	8 2½
1709		
May 6	By received of Ditto for half of £1. 13. -.	
	paid C. Tolson for his Affidavit from	
	France	16 6
	By received of Mr. Broughton Insurance	
	for £50 Composition at 2s ¹	4 4 -
		<hr/> 1510 7 -
Nov. 4	Received of Mr. Stamper for Mr. R. Young	
	for £84 Insurance at 2s. 2d. Composition	9 2 -

Papers in support of the Accounts in Settlement of the Affairs of the *Mary Galley*, 1706-8

There are about a score of papers extant which deal with minor matters arising out of the loss of the *Mary Galley* and of these I have not thought it well to print more than brief summaries.

Several of them are dated documents referring to the settlement by Bowrey of accounts with the officers and crew, e.g. Nos. 2, 4, 5 and 7. In these papers further details are given of the entries summarised in Paper 109. Thus, in

¹ There is no other record of this transaction, which probably refers to the second insurance effected in London.

No. 9 Mordecai Eve desires settlement through his agent, Thorsby, who seems to have demanded more on behalf of Eve, Wilkinson and Heighington than Bowrey gave (*vide* No. 3 of the undated documents). In No. 10 Captain Bapty is settled with as agent for his apprentices, Martin Sheills and George Nairne, serving in the *Mary Galley*.

It is pleasant to note, both in these particular documents and in others found in the course of the researches into Bowrey's papers about the *Mary Galley*, that the wives of her crew were faithfully given money earned by their husbands. Here in No. 3 of the dated documents we find Elizabeth Tolson drawing £5 "on Account moneys drawn from Dunkirk for my Husband." In No. 4 also Sarah Terfoot agrees to accept 23 months' wages for Samuel Terfoot.

In No. 11, an altogether different matter comes to the front. George Jackson, a solvent owner, asks Bowrey to look after his interest as some of the owners cannot, or will not, pay their proportions of the wages due to the ship's company, and he therefore fears that he may be sued. It has been already noticed that some of the owners of the *Mary Galley* became bankrupt after her loss, victims of a tragedy that must have been common in the "Good Old Times":

Soe hitt befel him on his Waye
In Povertie to rome:
Sore Crackt¹ was hee upon the Daye
When *His* Shipp cam nott Home.

Paper 110.

(a) Dated documents (summarised).

1. 26 May 1706 (and 4 June 1708). Captain Tolson's order on Capt. Bowrey to pay Richard Griffin £18 4s. 8d. out of wages due to Tolson, with Griffin's receipt for the said amount dated 4 June 1708.
2. 26 May 1707 (and 26 May 1708). Capt. Tolson's request to Capt. Bowrey to pay John Elliott Rs. 12, expended for medicines with Elliott's receipt for the same dated 26 May 1708. Endorsed: "Mr. Elliotts bill for medicines—paid £2. 14s. 0d."

¹ Bankrupt.

3. 17 Dec. 1707. Receipt drawn up by Thomas Bowrey and signed Eliz: Tolson for £5 "on Account moneys drawn from Dunkirk by my Husband."
4. 24 April 1708. Stamped agreement signed by Elliott, Grist, Griffin, Cutberson, and Sarah Terfoot (for Samuel Terfoot), agreeing to accept 23 mo. wages in full discharge of all claims against the owners, half of which to be paid down and Thomas Bowrey to be paid a shilling in the pound [*i.e.* 5 per cent.] for the whole or such proportion of the other half as he can recover for the claimants.
5. 27 April 1708. A certificate signed by Elias Grist stating that John Elliott is not indebted to the commander or Owners of the *Mary Galley*.
6. 27 April 1708. Jonathan Rich's discharge to Thomas Bowrey for £100 advanced by Rich for money due to Grist, the said sum having been paid by Thomas Bowrey. Endorsed: "Mr. Jonathan Rich's discharge from the Attachment on Account Mr. Grist."
7. 5 May 1708. Stamped agreement written by Thomas Bowrey and signed by Cutberson, Elliott, Griffin, Grist, Bowden, Terfoot, George Dungey, John Mitchell, John Chappell, Frances Panter and William Panter exonerating him from any claims by the signatories¹.
8. 16 Nov. 1708. Receipt signed by Richard Boulton for £1 16s. 0d. received of Thomas Bowrey in payment of a dollar lent and a hog "spared" to Capt. Tolson at the Cape.
9. 2 July (and 27 August) 1708. Paper signed by Mordecai Eve authorising E. Thorsby to receive what is due to him, with Thorsby's receipt for 30/- dated 27 August. At the foot of the paper is a note in a different hand—"Shipt the 2 of June 1706. Left Bengall 23 Jan: Aftter."
10. 3 July 1708. Stamped Assignment by Capt. Patrick Bapty of Leith to James Davis of the money due as wages to Martin Sheills and George Nairne, his two apprentices serving in the *Mary Galley*².
11. 9 July 1708. George Jackson to Thomas Bowrey. Since some of the owners cannot or will not pay their proportion of wages due to the ship's company³, Jackson fears lest he may be sued by some member of the crew and therefore begs Bowrey "to act therein for me as you do for your self."³
12. 24 July 1708. Statement dated at the Custom House, London,

¹ This looks like a final settlement of claims. John Chappell's name is not in either list of the crew. He was probably acting for one of the deceased men.

² See Papers 103 and 109.

³ Jackson appears to be referring to the bankrupt owners, Dupuy and Grist.

of the beer, wine, glassware and lead "entered out" on the *Mary Galley* in October 1704.

13. 15 Oct. 1708. Legal charges for drawing out and transcribing agreements, assignments, arbitration, bond and other papers in connection with the claims arising out of the loss of the *Mary Galley*: £1 16s. 6d. paid by Thomas Bowrey to R. Turner.
14. 30 Dec. 1708. Copy, in Thomas Bowrey's hand, of a request from Capt. Tolson to pay Archibald Wightman's wages out of the proportion of the ship's money due to Tolson.

(b) Undated documents (summarised).

1. Richard Griffin's affidavit that he is not indebted to Capt. Tolson or the owners of the *Mary Galley* except for an account not yet balanced between himself and Capt. Tolson on his private account.
2. Rough notes in Thomas Bowrey's hand, parts of which are scored through. They seem to be notes of points that Bowrey wished to remember in connection with the case, but are very disjointed, e.g. "Accounts and Papers and Journal of the Voyage deliver to us first."
3. Notes by Thomas Bowrey of wages due to Eve, Wilkinson and Heighington with the amounts given in Rupees and £ s. d. This paper is in answer to one in Thorsby's hand (the agent for Mordecai Eve, see *ante*) where the amounts claimed are much larger than allowed by Bowrey. The men claimed to have served up to the 20 Dec. 1706, but Bowrey puts the date in each case as 14 September.
4. Paper in Thomas Bowrey's hand entitled "Demands" containing a computation of the value of the glass ware and cutlery shipped in the *Mary Galley* totalling £515 12s. 10d.

Summary of Thomas Bowrey's Private Accounts relating to the Settlement of the Affairs of the *Mary Galley*, 1704-10

From Thomas Bowrey's private account book much has already been extracted relating to the *Mary Galley*. In addition, there are balanced accounts with Thomas Hammond, George Jackson, Richard Tolson, Joseph Tolson and Elias Grist, Bowrey's co-owners, showing also an open running account with the last named. There is further an open account with a co-owner, Elias Dupuy, father of Joseph Dupuy

of the ship. From these accounts I gather that Elias Dupuy and Elias Grist were the co-owners who became bankrupt when the accounts of the *Mary Galley* had to be settled.

With the exception of the account with Joseph Tolson, the commander, it is not worth while to do more than summarise these documents and emphasise their salient points. In the case of Joseph Tolson I have printed the account in full, in order to bring out his financial relations with his owners. It runs from 31 March 1704 to 20 August 1708, is balanced at £837. 4s. 3d. and shows that Bowrey paid him £92. 8s. 9d. finally, in full settlement of all claims, including those arising out of the arbitration. It shows, too, how he paid his share of £680 in the *Mary Galley*.

The last account is that with Elias Grist, who was part owner and purser of the ship. It runs from 14 July 1704 to 18 August 1708, and is not finally balanced, I presume, because Grist became bankrupt.

Paper III.

Summary of Thomas Bowrey's Accounts with his Partners in the *Mary Galley*, 1704-10.

1. *Thomas Hammond*. There is a balanced account from 29 June 1704, to 6 May 1706, settled by the payment to Bowrey of £16 1s. 1d. on 14 June 1706. Its total is £398 14s. 3d. and it shows that Hammond's share of 1/12th "of the *Mary Gally* and Cargoe" was £340, settling the capital of the ship and its contents at £4080, as has appeared from other documents. It contains some interesting items, *e.g.*, it shows that Hammond supplied wine to the amount of £75 19s. 0d. and paid 1s. 6d. on the postage of the letters he sent to Tolson while the latter was in home waters on his way to the East in November 1704 (Paper 48). There are also two items regarding the *Worcester*: "22nd Nov. 1705, paid expense Account the *Worcester* £7 5s. 11d.," and "17th March 1706, 5/16 of 22/54 of £684 Advanced and Agreed to be Advanced on Account of expenses on the Ship *Worcester* and Cargoe, £87 1s. 8d." So the *Worcester*, too, was a heavy charge on Bowrey's finances, as one might expect. Incidentally one learns that a guinea in 1705 was worth £1. 1s. 6d.: "22nd Nov. 1705, 2 Guineas paid £2. 3s. 0d."

In 1706-1707 is another balanced account in Bowrey's favour, running to £222 1s. 3d. Here Bowrey supplies Hammond with

"2 doz. Wine, £1. 10s. 0d." on 21 Nov. 1707, showing, with the above account, that he was a wine merchant among other things. There is also again an entry about the *Worcester*, indicating that Hammond was a part owner of that ship: "By his [Hammond's] attendance [at Court] on Account the *Worcester*, £19 15s 0d"

There is a third balanced account with Hammond from 3 May 1708, to 30 Jan. 1710, the latest date appearing in all these accounts and papers concerning the *Mary Galley*. It relates to the payment of Hammond's share of the crew's wages, balances in Bowrey's favour, £51 7s. 2d., and totals £166 17s 5d.

2. *George Jackson*. There is a balanced account from 26 April 1705, to 6 October 1708, terminating in favour of Bowrey, £10 10s. 2d., and totalling £417 5s. 5d. It shows Jackson's share in the *Mary Galley* as £340, and relates also to his share in the payment of the crew's wages, giving the number of men alive and available in 1708 as seventeen. It has, too, an item for "Stamp Paper for a Release, 1s. 1d." So Jackson must have taken a release in full of all indebtedness on account of the *Mary Galley* from Bowrey.
3. *Richard Tolson* In this case there are two accounts: first a ledger as with Hammond and Jackson, showing Tolson's share in the *Mary Galley* as £170. It is a balanced account from 27 July 1704, to 17 April 1709. It balances in Richard Tolson's favour at 14s. 6½d. and includes a "Stamp paper for release [to Bowrey] 1s. 1d" It relates chiefly to the wages of the crew. The second account is a balanced memorandum, £20 5s. 1½d., giving a *résumé* in 1708, up to 18 August, of part of the first account and a receipt to Bowrey on 18 April 1709 for the balance of 14s. 6½d. above shown as due to Richard Tolson.
4. *Elias Dupuy*. This is an unbalanced account with the father of Joseph Dupuy, the dismissed supercargo of the *Mary Galley*, from 26 April 1705 to 20 August 1709, showing Dupuy's share in the ship to be £340, and also showing that by 20 August 1708 he had paid £9 10s. 3d. and owed £13 7s. 0d. for his share in the loss. I presume that the account was left open because he became bankrupt.

Paper 112.

[Bowrey's Settlement with Captain Joseph Tolson.]

Captain Joseph Tolson.....Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1705				
April 26th	To 1/6 part of the <i>Mary Gally</i> and Cargoe	680	--	
1704				
Oct.	To Cash Lent him at Bottomree on the <i>Mary Gally</i> to India	50	--	

362 SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS [1704-9

		£	s.	d.
1705/6				
Jan. 7	To Writings by Mr. Tushingham	1	5	6
	To his part to pay Seamens Wages while the Ship abroad &ca. disbursments	-	-	-
1707				
Dec. 17	To Cash paid his Wife	-	-	-
1708				
June 4	To his Bill drawn on me paid to Mr. R. Griffin	-	-	-
Augt. 20	To my part of an Award made by Capt. John Clarke and paid me	13	10	-
	Due to Ballance and paid in full	92	8	9
		837	4	3
		<hr/>		
1704	Per Contra.....Cr.	£	s.	d.
Mar. 31th	By Cash paid	200	-	-
Oct. 9	By Ditto	110	-	-
12	By account Disbursments	96	-	-
16	By Cash paid £200 returnd at Gravesend £4			
	by Disbursments	£96	-	-
	by left in his hands for Ships Account	20	-	-
	by Allowance for his Table	30	-	-
	by 2 months Imprest for himself and Servant	22	-	-
	by his Bond of Bottomree	50	-	-
	by Mr. Elias Dupuy's Noat	50	-	-
		274	-	-
		680	-	-
1705/6				
Janry. 7	By Cash paid Mrs. Tolson for Account Capt. Tolson to pay Mens Wages &ca.	-	-	-
	By Ditto paid for Writings to Mr. Tushingham	1	5	6
1707				
Sept.	By the loss of the <i>Mary Gally</i> £50 Bottomree lost	50	-	-
1708				
Augt. 20	By an Award made by Mr. James Dolliffe	105	18	9
		837	4	3 ¹

¹ In August 1709 there is a further small balanced account showing that Bowrey had paid Tolson's share of Archibald Wightman's wages (£5 4s. 6d.) out of "money received by me on Account the *Mary Galley* since I ballanced Accounts with him" (£4 5s. 1d.) and "Cash received of his wife" (19s. 5d.).

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